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CATHOLICITY IN INDIA.

WHILST the various works that have issued from the press since the unhappy mutinies of the present year awakened an interest in India have given accounts more or less accurate of its history, geography, and political state, none of them furnish information respecting the ecclesiastical distribution of the extensive provinces over which the faith was preached by the apostle of the Indies, St. Francis Xavier. To understand the reasons for the present distribution of India, it is necessary to give a brief account of the events and causes that have rendered it necessary.

In the fifteenth century, Spain and Portugal disputed the empire of the seas. They made conquests in the two Indies, founded colonies, and enriched themselves with commerce. Jealousy and rivalry arose between the two nations; to nip these in the bud, the Holy See, then the recognised umpire of Christian princes, interposed, and assigned the East to the Portuguese, the West to the Spaniards, as the theatres of their conquests. At the same time the Pope required them to labour to spread the faith in those heathen lands, by sending missionary priests, and founding and endowing churches. During the fifteenth century, there was no talk of "patronage" over the lands which these two states discovered or acquired.

But Leo X., in his Constitution *Cum fidei constantiam*, 1514, granted to the kings of Portugal the patronage of all churches erected or to be erected in all countries of the East Indies conquered or to be conquered by them; and this was done for the sake of the protection which their power promised to the Church in those lands.

The bishopric of Goa was established by Paul III., Nov. 3, 1534, by the Bull *Æquum reputamus*, which enacted: 1. That this new diocese should extend from the Cape of Good

Hope to the confines of China; 2. That the king of Portugal, as perpetual administrator-apostolic of the revenues of the military order called the Soldiers of Christ (*Militia Christi*), should assign for the maintenance of the Bishop and chapter an endowment from the revenues of this order; 3. That the patronage of the said bishopric and all the diocesan benefices should belong by right of foundation and endowment to the king of Portugal and his successors, as perpetual administrators of the Soldiers of Christ: all which points were more expressly declared and explained by the Bull *Romani Pontificis*, June 8, 1539. But in this latter Bull, Paul III. also declared more plainly the duties incumbent on the kings of Portugal, or rather on the administrators of the Order of Christ in their quality of patrons. He declared: 1. That they were obliged for the present and future to keep up and repair not only the cathedral and the holy places of Goa, but also all the churches, chapels, and monasteries of that vast diocese; 2. That they were bound to furnish all these holy places with the objects necessary for divine worship; 3. That they were bound to provide for the proper maintenance of all the clergymen employed in Goa and the rest of the diocese; 4. That the setting-up and endowment of new parishes and other holy places in all parts of the diocese where it might be necessary, should be at their charge; and 5. That no grant, gift, or endowment made to these churches or other holy places, could be diminished or revoked by any person, though he might be armed with the authority of the Holy See, without the consent of the Bishop of Goa. The same consent was required, before the number of priests attached to any church could be lessened.

It was clear that one Bishop could not administer such a vast extent of territory. So Paul IV., by three Bulls, dated Feb. 4, 1557, one of which begins with the words *Et si sancti*, and the other two with *Pro excellenti*, divided the bishopric of Goa into three parts: the first became the archbishopric of Goa, and the other two the suffragan sees of Cochin and Malacca. The kings of Portugal were again declared to be patrons of these three sees by right of foundation and endowment. The endowment of Cochin and Malacca was derived from the royal revenue of those two places.

In 1575, Gregory XIII. erected the bishopric of Macao, comprehending China and Japan. That was the first occasion on which the Pope, not content with allowing the kings of Portugal the right of patronage as founders and endowers, inserted in the Bull the clause which has since been so much abused. He declared, "that the Holy See could not in any

way derogate from this patronage, unless with the consent of the kings of Portugal; that if such derogation took place without the consent of the said kings, it should be considered null and of no effect. And that every judge or commissary, with whatsoever authority he may be armed, must so give judgment, seeing that the right of judging or interpreting otherwise is taken from him by the present act."

In after years, every time the kings of Portugal acquired the right of patronage by foundation or endowment, this extraordinary clause was added to the Bull. Thus Sixtus V. had it added to his consistorial decree of Feb. 19, 1588, by which the empire of Japan was divided from the diocese of Macao, and erected into the new See of Funai, suffragan to Goa. Thus also Clement VIII. inserted it in his Constitution *In supremo*, Aug. 4, 1600, by which, on the death of the Nestorian Archbishop of Angomali, this metropolitan see became suffragan to Goa, and by which the endowment assigned by the king of Portugal to the diocese was approved. The same clause is found again in the consistorial decree of Feb. 9, 1606, by which Paul V. divided the see of Cochin into two, Cochin and Meliapoor.

Cochin was already founded and endowed: the same was done for Meliapoor by Philip II. king of Spain and Portugal, who took the necessary funds from the revenues of the Order of Christ. Lastly, when Alexander VIII., April 10, 1690, erected in the territories of the see of Macao two other dioceses, Nankin and Pekin, which were founded and endowed by Peter II. king of Portugal, the Pope again inserted the celebrated clause in his Constitutions *Romanus Pontifex* and *Romani Pontificis*.

The difficulties and embarrassments that are still caused by this right of patronage had then begun to be felt. It was supposed that a consequence of the royal patronage was that nothing could be done in the East Indies without the permission of the kings of Portugal, and that the Pope's authority was subordinate to their rights. The faith spreads, the number of the faithful increases, the existing bishoprics are not enough: Alexander VII. wishes to put Bishops into Nankin and Pekin; the king of Portugal forbids it.

Thereupon Rome had recourse to Vicars-Apostolic. No Catholic can deny the Pope's right to exercise his apostolic jurisdiction in any country whatever: this right is inalienable. In truth, they would only use it in cases of necessity, for the good of the Church; but this limitation is general, and applicable to every other act of jurisdiction. Of the reasons for using it, his own conscience and God are his sole judges.

Alexander VII., seeing on the one hand that the single Bishop of Macao was not enough to administer all China, and on the other that the Portuguese government forbade his making other Bishops, had recourse to a middle term: he did not diminish the extent of the diocese of Macao, but he suspended the exercise of the jurisdiction of the Bishop over a great part of China, and sent two apostolic commissioners, who were consecrated to two sees *in partibus infidelium*, each of whom was charged to administer a part of the enormous diocese of Macao, not in their own name and authority, but in that of the Pope. Hence they are commonly called *Vicars-Apostolic*. This expedient, which forbore meddling, not only with the rights, but also with the pretensions, of the king of Portugal, was approved and continued by Alexander VII.'s successors, Clement IX., Clement X., and Innocent IX.

Still the court of Portugal was deeply aggrieved by these measures; for it was imagined that the right of patronage included, besides certain honours, and the right of nomination to benefices, also a kind of primacy. But the Holy See had the best of the argument. It said to the king, "You say that you have the patronage of China; that it is your place to build and endow churches there, to send priests and Bishops, to provide for their maintenance, and to fulfil all the duties of an ecclesiastical patron. Do so, then. We only ask of you the fulfilment of these obligations. But if you cannot fulfil them, your patronage does not give you the right to hinder me from providing for the salvation of souls. What sensible man will venture to maintain that the Bishop of Macao by himself can perform all the episcopal functions requisite for all the Christians of the immense empire of China?" These disputes finished with the foundation of the bishoprics of Nankin and Peking, endowed, as we said, by King Peter II., and erected by Pope Alexander VIII.

But still the faith spread; and soon these three bishoprics became insufficient for China, and it was necessary to think of founding new sees. The opposition of those who pretended to the monopoly of missionary work in the East burst out; Innocent XII. disregarded it, and sent *Vicars-Apostolic* into certain fixed provinces of China.

Instantly the court of Lisbon began to assail the Pope with complaints and reproaches. They even accused him of injustice; as if the right of patronage included the right of opposing the necessary division of dioceses or parishes, and of hindering the ecclesiastical authority from taking the measures necessary for the salvation of souls.

But the pretended violation of the right of patronage was

not the only cause of irritation. French missionaries had been sent to assist the Vicars-Apostolic; and it is clear that this apostolate of a different nationality did not serve Portuguese interests. Perhaps some of the missionaries were too hasty in knocking down all that had been built before their time; in making themselves partisans, and sowing division among the old workmen; in a word, in acting more like indiscreet reformers than like apostles, who make themselves all things to all men. But if these infirmities ever existed, they would soon have been healed; and they certainly gave no new strength to the pretensions of Portugal, nor destroyed an atom of the rights of the Holy See.

Meanwhile, if the complaints of the Portuguese in Europe were bitter, the opposition of the Portuguese clergy in India against the *Propagandists*, as they called them, was ferocious. The inquisition of Goa excommunicated the Vicars-Apostolic and their missionaries; and the Archbishop sent his priests every where after them to persuade the people that the French missionaries were wolves in the fold.

The Holy See interfered with its usual mildness and constancy. The Pope wrote to the Archbishop of Goa, to interdict him from any act of jurisdiction in the countries administered by the Vicars-Apostolic, his delegates; and to the king of Portugal, to show him that Rome, in sending delegates into China, had invaded none of his rights, but only fulfilled a solemn duty,—that the mission of these delegates was an extraordinary remedy, the use of which would cease the moment a proper provision was made for the wants of the Chinese Christians.

Since that time Portugal has never been in the position to fulfil this condition; it even ceased to nominate to the greater number of the sees when they fell vacant, and almost all the missions that remained in Portuguese hands were left desolate. Provoked by this treatment, the people came from afar to throw themselves at the feet of the Vicars-Apostolic, and to say to them, "Give us your missionaries, or we turn Protestants." This threat was accomplished; and the 40,000 Protestants of Tinnevelly furnish a lesson more than instructive.

A new Gregory VII. was wanted to place the axe at the root of the tree; so the immortal Gregory XVI., who, as prefect of Propaganda, had long known intimately the state of the Church in India, at last launched his famous brief, *Multa præclare*, April 24, 1838. Therein he first confirms the authority of the Vicars-Apostolic of Calcutta, Madras, Ceylon, and the Coromandel coast, lately established. The bishoprics of Cranganor, Cochin, and Meliapor, or St. Thomas, had been

long vacant; he provided for their administration, till ordinary Bishops should be appointed to them. The see of Goa was likewise vacant; but, as this town is in the hands of the Portuguese, the Holy Father contented himself with bemoaning this widowhood, and the evils resulting from it. On that occasion he only occupied himself with the countries where the Portuguese flag no longer flies, but is replaced by the English colours.

This was the least the Pope could do; but it was sufficient to make their rage break forth. We will not enumerate the persecutions, intrigues, and calumnies, of which the defenders of the patronage were guilty. They tried to make the Pope's Bull of no effect; they laid claim to their old churches; they excluded from them all that recognised the authority of the Vicars-Apostolic. The English tribunals, which had to decide more than once on the property of the churches, uniformly pronounced in favour of the schismatics. Nevertheless, in the beginning of 1853, they had lost all but 250,000 adherents; while the Vicars-Apostolic were found by a census at the head of 838,556 docile children of the Church.

For the spiritual care, then, of these vast provinces of India, the Holy See has been anxious to name a sufficient number of Vicars-Apostolic; whilst no efforts have been spared to settle the claims of Portugal by means of a concordat. When the terms of it are finally arranged and published, we propose to furnish our readers with an account of it; and in the mean time it will be interesting to them to possess from authentic sources statistics of the Church in those parts of India for which the Holy See has made provision. In making such provision, the Popes have been anxious to protect the sacred interests committed to them, and to prevent a conflict of allegiance in the portions of the territory of Goa which have passed from the sway of the kings of Portugal to the English crown. "All must have felt," says Gregory XVI. in the celebrated Brief already quoted, "that the Holy See never intended to confer a right of presentation to bishoprics upon the kings of Portugal to the exclusion of its own right to make proper provision for the wants of religion in India; and every one must perceive that the privilege was granted in times very different from the present, when the ancient political rule no longer exists under which it could have been exercised without difficulty, and when those provinces have passed under the sway of a most powerful sovereign, whose form and order of government would not allow it to be acknowledged." (Brief, *Multa præclare.*)

In accordance with the principle laid down by their pre-

decessors, and explained in this passage, Gregory XVI. and Pius IX. have in our times erected vicariates-apostolic in those parts of India over which the crown of Portugal has ceased to rule, without disturbing the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Goa over his own flock. Of the vicariates thus established, sixteen are in the British possessions.

"The Lower Provinces of Bengal," says the Government Minute of February 28, 1856, "including Pegu and the Straits settlement, are comprised in six of these vicariates, viz. :

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| 1. Calcutta. | 3. Patna. | 5. Ava. |
| 2. Dacca. | 4. Vizagapatam. | 6. Singapore. |

The North-Western provinces, including the Punjab" (the Minute erroneously adds, 'and Scinde'), "with the Rajpootana States, and Gwalior, are comprised in three vicariates, viz. :

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| 3. Patna. | 4. Vizagapatam. | 7. Agra. |
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The Bombay Presidency including" (the Minute says *excluding*) "Scinde, is conterminous, or nearly so, with one vicariate, viz. :

8. Bombay.

The Madras Presidency, including Hyderabad, Mysore, and Travancore, is comprised in nine vicariates, viz. :

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| 4. Vizagapatam. | 11. Mysore. | 14. Verapully. |
| 9. Hyderabad. | 12. Calicut. [Mangalore.] | 15. Quilon. |
| 10. Madras. | 13. Coimbatore. | 16. Madura." |

The Minute ought to have added a seventeenth vicariate, since the Vicar-Apostolic living in the French settlement of Pondicherry exercises jurisdiction over a large portion of the Company's territory.

The accurately compiled *Madras Catholic Directory* for 1857, and the interesting pamphlet of the Very Rev. Dr. Fennelly, supply the following statistics with reference to these vicariates and to the neighbouring vicariates of Siam, Jaffna, and Colombo, at the end of 1856, and before the North-Western provinces had been desolated by rebellion and war.

1. *Calcutta*, or *Western Bengal*, by a decree of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, of February 15, 1850, comprises fifteen districts, viz. Calcutta, the twenty-four Purgannahs, Hidgelee, Midnapore, Sunderbunds, Jessoor, Barasety, Hoogly, Nuddya, Burdawn, Moorshedabad, Rajeshay, Bogra, and Malda. (Cuttack, named in the decree, has been since added to Vizagapatam.) The Catholic population is estimated at 15,000 souls: amongst whom from 1844 to 1856 were adult converts from heathenism, 107; and from heresy or schism, 222; and from Mahometanism, 4. Children receiving a Catholic education in the schools maintained by the Bishop,

850. In Calcutta, there is likewise St. John's College, and the Convent of Loretto House, as well as an orphanage for boys. The Vicar-Apostolic is the Right Rev. Dr. Oliffe, Bishop of Milene, so well known on account of his zealous charities in behalf of the sufferers during the mutinies.

2. *Eastern Bengal*, or *Dacca*, which is under the spiritual administration of Bishop Oliffe, comprises nine districts—Dacca, Pubna, Cachad, Mymensing, Sylhet, Backergunge, Tippera, Booloah, and Chittagong. (Decree of February 15, 1850.) In these districts are 13,000 Catholics, who are unhappily deprived by the schismatics of five out of thirteen public churches. There are two convents, Loretto House in Dacca, and Holy Cross (French) in Chittagong.

3. *Patna*, of which the Right Rev. Dr. Zubber is Vicar-Apostolic, is bounded on the east and south-east by the vicariate-apostolic of Western Bengal; on the south-west by the vicariate of Vizagapatam; on the west by the vicariate of Agra; and on the north by the Snowy Mountains. The estimated Catholic population is 3400. There is a convent-school at Darjeeling, a male orphanage and a free-school at Patna.

4. *Vizagapatam* extends along the Bay of Bengal from Cuttack to the mouth of the Godavery, a distance of 500 miles; and bounded on the north by the Bengal Presidency, on the west by the Bombay Presidency, and on the south by the vicariate-apostolic of Hyderabad. The total Catholic population is 7130. Three communities of the Sisters of St. Joseph take care of the schools. In the Cuddah-Hill mission, in 1853, 1854, and 1855, upwards of 600 natives (adults and infants) were baptised; and in addition, there were in the four years ending November 1, 1855, 354 converts from heathenism, and 45 from Protestantism. There are ten Catholic schools in the vicariate. The Vicar-Apostolic is the Right Rev. T. E. Neyret, Bishop of Olena, residing in Vizagapatam.

5. *Ava* and *Pegu* form a vicariate, which is bounded on the east by the vicariates of Siam and Yun-nan; on the south and south-east by the Malayan Peninsula and the Gulf of Martaban; on the west by the Bay of Bengal and the vicariate-apostolic of East Bengal; and on the north by the Assam and Snowy Mountains. Four Vicars-Apostolic attended to the spiritual wants of these provinces between 1741 and 1793, and their next successor was named in 1830; and the present Vicar-Apostolic, the Right Rev. J. B. Bigandet, was named in 1856, upon the resignation of Dr. Balma. The number of Catholics is 5300, in which number are to be reckoned 103 converts from heathenism in 1855. During the

same year baptism was administered to 630 children of heathen parents, and 340 children of Christian parents. At Moulmein there is a boarding and day school for young ladies, with a female orphanage and free-school, under the Sisters of St. Joseph of the Apparition; these schools are attended by 250 children. The English, Burmese, and Tamil schools are all well attended; and before the late war there were in Burmah Proper seven Burman male, and four female schools, and three Karean schools.

6. *Singapore.* By the Brief *Multa præclare* Malacca was placed under the jurisdiction of the Vicar-Apostolic of Ava and Pegu, on the 24th of April 1838; but by a decree of the Sacred Congregation, dated January 3, 1840, the Malayan Peninsula was erected into a separate vicariate, including the suppressed bishopric of Malacca, together with Singapore, Penang, and other places in the Straits previously administered by the Vicar-Apostolic of Siam. In 1845 the Right Rev. Dr. Boucho, Bishop of Athalia, was named Vicar-Apostolic. The mission called of Singapore in Lord Dalhousie's Minute, and of the Malayan Peninsula in Catholic documents, is divided into the Northern, Central, and Southern. The northern district does not contain more than 400 Catholics, whilst the other two contain 5000.

In the Pulo-Tikus district is a most flourishing college for the education of native clergy belonging to the missions of China, Cochin China, Tonquin, Cambodia, and Siam. Many students flock to this interesting establishment, and to the paternal care of its superiors, the priests of the *Missions Étrangères*.

In Wellesley province is St. Mary's Seminary, established by Bishop Boucho, in 1850, for the education of native clergy of the Malayan vicariate.

In the Southern district, are Malacca, with two stations, each of which has a school and catechumenate; and Singapore, which possesses the Church of the Good Shepherd, and two schools, one under the Christian Brothers, and the other under the care of nuns, together with an orphanage and Chinese catechumenate.

7. *Agra.* Of this district, which is under the care of the Right Rev. Dr. Persico, Bishop of Gratianople, it is impossible to speak without feeling deep sympathy for the Bishop and his clergy and flock, and sorrow and anxiety on account of the many of our fellow-countrymen who have perished. As we are writing, the tidings have reached us of the death of that young and gallant officer Everard Phillipps, whose attachment to his faith, and whose fidelity in performing his reli-

gious duties, brought joy, as they will now afford consolation, to his sorrowing parents. But who can bear to think of the wide-spread grief of so many families; and who can convey words of resignation to the lowly and forgotten poor who have waited for messages from Delhi or Lucknow to return to their wretched homes, and weep over them in lonely anguish? May He who comforted Martha and Mary give joy to these heart-broken mourners; and may He spare, in His mercy, the children that yet remain! When accurate accounts can be obtained of the sufferings endured by the missionaries,—of the heroic death of some of them, and of the destruction of the property of the survivors,—we hope to furnish our readers with an abstract of them.

Before the war, the Catholic population of the Agra vicariate amounted to 20,000 souls, scattered over the district which is bounded on the west and south-west by the vicariate of Bombay; on the south by that of Vizagapatam; on the east by the vicariate of Patna; and is unlimited on the north and north-west. There were twenty stations and five orphanages (containing 360 children): viz. at Agra, St. Paul's for European boys, St. Patrick's for European girls; two at Sirdanah for natives, one for boys and one for girls; and one at Gwalior for native boys. There were four ecclesiastical students in the College of St. Peter at Agra, and there was a boys' school (St. George's) at Mussoorie.

8. *Bombay* is bounded on the south by the diocese of Goa, and by the vicariates of Mangalore and Mysore; on the west by the sea; on the east by the vicariates of Madras, Hyderabad, and Vizagapatam; and on the north by the vicariate of Agra. Catholic population, 17,100, including 5200 Europeans; schismatics, 30,000. In the seminary at Surat, there are eight ecclesiastical students; and in the orphanage of Bombay there are forty children. The conversions from Oct. 1, 1852, to Nov. 30, 1854, were 143, of whom eighty-eight had been Hindoos and Mahometans.

9. *Hyderabad* was erected into a separate vicariate by his Holiness, May 20, 1851, under the care of the Right Rev. Dr. Murphy, Bishop of Philadelphia (residence, Secunderabad). It is bounded on the north by the river Godavery, which separates it from the vicariate of Vizagapatam; on the south by the Kistna, which separates it from the vicariate of Madras; on the east by the bay of Bengal; and on the west by the vicariate of Bombay. The extreme length across the peninsula is about 460 miles; and its breadth between the two rivers is about 300 miles, with a Catholic population of 4000.

10. *Madras* extends along the sea-coast of Coromandel from north to south, from the mouth of the river Kistna to the mouth of the Pallar, 300 miles; from east to west, from Madras to Moodghul, 369 miles: bounded on the south by the vicariates of Pondicherry and Mysore; on the west by the vicariate of Bombay; and on the north by the vicariate of Hyderabad. Catholic population, 44,480; schismatical, 6880. Adult baptisms in eleven years, to Nov. 15, 1850, 2979, of which 2080 were from heathenism, and the rest from Protestantism; from Nov. 1853 to Nov. 1854, 423, of which 330 were from heathenism; and from Nov. 1854 to the end of 1856, 453, of which forty-one were from Protestantism, and the rest from heathenism.

Madras contains a female orphanage (eighty children), and a male orphanage (forty children), and has an ecclesiastical seminary, in which twelve students are preparing for the priesthood: English free schools, seven for boys and five for girls; besides another at Poonamallee: Tamil free schools, 15, of which two are for girls; five Teloogoo schools. In the English schools are 800 children, and an equal number in the others. The Bishop is the Right Rev. John Fennelly, D.D., Bishop of Castoria; and his Vicar-General is his brother, the Very Rev. Stephen Fennelly, whose able and calmly written pamphlet, already referred to, must produce a powerful effect upon all who are disposed to act fairly towards Catholics.

11. *Mysore* contains a Catholic population of 17,110 (of which 200 adults were baptised in 1853 only), under the care of the Right Rev. Dr. Charbonnaux, Bishop of Jassen, Vicar-Apostolic (residence, Bangalore). This vicariate comprises the territories of the Rajah of Mysore, and the British provinces of Coorg and Wynaad. It is bounded on the north (from Hurryhur eastward) by the vicariate of Madras, and from Hurryhur westward by the vicariate of Bombay, the boundary-line being the northern border of the Mysore territory; on the west by the vicariate of Mangalore, the southern Ghaut being the boundary; on the south by the vicariate of Coimbatore, the boundary being the northern border of the province of Coimbatore; and on the east, partly by the vicariate of Madras and partly by that of Pondicherry. In Bangalore are three churches for the natives, with seven schools (five Tamil and two English), and a splendid church for Europeans, raised chiefly by the Irish soldiers; a seminary, exclusively for natives, containing thirteen students; a convent, with two female schools and two orphanages: attached to the native church is a catechumenate, where heathens are prepared by a priest and a catechist for baptism.

12. *Mangalore*, erected into a vicariate by Pius IX., March 13, 1853, and now under the care of the Right Rev. Michael Anthony of St. Aloysius, Bishop of Mennith (residence Mangalore) is bounded on the south by the vicariate of Verapoly; on the north by the diocese of Goa; on the east by the Ghauts; and on the west by the sea. Catholic population, 30,480; schismatic population, 15,000, from whose number 1700 abjured the schism in 1855: 100 converts from heathenism, and eight from Protestantism, were received into the Church in 1854. Children attending the Catholic schools, about 800. In Calicut there is an English school for sixty boys; and in the seminary at Mangalore twelve students are preparing for the ecclesiastical state.

13. *Coimbatore* is bounded on the north by the vicariate of Mysore; on the west by that of Verapoly; on the east by the vicariate of Pondicherry; and on the south by the vicariate of Madura and the mountains of Travancore. Catholic population, 17,200, amongst whom are 590 converts from heathenism during the eight years ended December 1856. There are ten Church students in the seminary at Curmattumpatty. The administrator of this vicariate is the Vicar-Apostolic of Pondicherry.

14. *Verapoly* is a highly cultivated island, upon which are a presbytery, erected two centuries ago; an episcopal residence; two seminaries, one for the Latin and the other for the Syrian native clergy; houses for catechumens; and a hospital. The vicariate to which Verapoly gives its name extends to Porakawdoo to the south; to Ponany to the north-west; and to the Ghauts to the east. Under the administrator, the Right Rev. F. Bernardine of St. Theresa, are of the Latin rite twenty-five churches, twenty-nine affiliated chapels, forty-one native priests, and 69,180 Catholics; whilst of the Syrian rite there are 111 churches, seventy-six affiliated chapels, 397 native priests, and 158,826 Catholics. The total number of Catholics, 228,006, live chiefly in the territories of the rajah of Travancore and Cochin, and a few only in the territories of the East India Company. In this vicariate is a great seminary for Latin native Christians; and fourteen for Syrian Malabar Christians, with one convent of the latter clergy. In the two houses of catechumens more than 1000 heathens are baptised every year, besides many Nestorians and some Protestants.

The conversion of the Christians on the Malabar coast is described by his Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster in his learned *Moorfields Lectures* (vol. i. p. 229):

“When the Portuguese arrived there, they found a church of

Christians who knew nothing of any other civilised community, but were in communion with and under the authority of the Nestorian Patriarch at Mosul; and we have the letter which they wrote to him, giving a description of the ships which arrived, and the strangers who had landed on their coast, and expressing their satisfaction that they agreed with them in every point of doctrine. In course of time conferences were held, and the differences peculiar to their sect discussed; and the consequence was, that one-half, who may now be about 30,000 or 50,000, became Catholics, and have remained so ever since, having their Bishops and priests; using the Syriac, which is now a dead language, in their liturgy, and thus forming a body united with us in communion, like the united Greek and Syriac Churches in Western Asia."

15. *Quilon*, erected into a vicariate by Pius IX., in 1853, is bounded on the north by the vicariate of Verapoly; on the east by the mountains of Travancore, which separate it from the vicariate of Madura; and on the west and south-west by 150 miles of coast from Porocaudoo exclusive to the mouth of the river Manacoody, near Cape Comorin. There are 120 churches and chapels, of which only that of Tangacherry is in the territory of the Company. Catholic population, 49,000, for whom a seminary and many free schools have lately been established. In 1854 the converts from heathenism were 204. The apostolic administrator of the vicariate is the Right Rev. Father Bernardine of St. Theresa, Bishop of Heraclea.

16. *Madura* is bounded on the north by the vicariate of Pondicherry; on the north-west by the vicariate of Coimbatore; on the west by the vicariates of Verapoly and Quilon, from both of which it is separated by the southern Ghauts; and on the east and south-east by about 150 miles of coast extending from Negapatam to Cape Comorin. Catholic population, 140,000, amongst whom are 1445 converts from heathenism and 378 converts from Protestantism, all received since the beginning of 1849. The Right Rev. Dr. Canoz, S.J., Bishop of Tamas (residing in Trichinopoly), and the other fathers of the Society, maintain a scholasticate (with six students) and a college (with ninety students), a house for catechists, a native convent, and fifteen Tamil schools. In addition to an English school, five houses (containing 160 children) have been opened at different stations for the reception of children in danger of being brought up by Protestants or heathens.

17. *Pondicherry* is bounded on the north by the river Pallar; on the south by the river Cauvery; on the east by sixty miles of the coast of Coromandel, from the mouth of the Pallar to the mouth of the Vettar; and on the west

partly by the Mysore territory, which forms its common boundary with the vicariate-apostolic of Mysore, and partly by the Cauvery. Catholic population, 100,046. In the colonial college are 110 pupils; in the theological seminary, 10; in the preparatory seminary, 200. There are three native convents (one of Carmelite nuns, and the others of the Sacred Heart of Mary), besides a convent and orphanage of the Sisters of St. Joseph. There are two native orphanages, of which one is for pariahs. There are two hospitals, and many schools. The Vicar-Apostolic is the Right Rev. Dr. Bonnard, Bishop of Drusipare, residing in Pondicherry. His lordship has seen since 1852 the baptism or reception into the Church of 144 Protestants and 1384 heathens.

In the portions of these vicariates which are subject to the East India Company, are, according to the returns furnished by the Superior of Missions, 801,858 Catholics, of whom, at the beginning of 1857, 16,000 were European soldiers. For the latter a very inadequate provision was made by Lord Dalhousie's Minute; and for the remaining 785,858 no provision at all was made by the Company. (Fennelly, pp. 4, 5.)

During the course of the present year, seven priests—the Rev. John Kyne and the Rev. Edward Lescher (both of Westminster), the Rev. Charles Morgan (Clifton), the Rev. Patrick Fairhurst (Liverpool), the Rev. John F. Browne (Salford), the Rev. T. Crowther, O.S.A., and the Rev. William Stone—have been sent as officiating chaplains to the Catholic soldiers now in India.

In the vicariate-apostolic of *Siam*, under the Right Rev. Dr. Pallegoix, Bishop of Mallo (residing in Bangkok), are 3000 Christians of different nations, who have eight churches, to which are attached six schools, a convent, and a college. The church of St. Francis Xavier has a congregation of 1800 Cochin-Chinese Christians, who were made prisoners of war by the Siamese in their contests with Cochin China. There are other catechumenates and schools in the vicariate.

In the island and colony of Ceylon are two vicariates-apostolic: that of Jaffna comprises the northern division of the island, including Chilaw, Nowlande, and Batticaloa; whilst Colombo comprises all the remaining districts.

In Jaffna, which has unfortunately been deprived by death of its saintly Bishop, the Right Rev. Dr. Bettachini, the Catholics amount to 60,000; for whom there are thirty schools, viz. twenty-three Tamil, five English, and two Cingalese. Between the end of 1850 and January 1855, the baptisms of

heathens amounted to 1132, and the conversions from Protestantism to sixty-five.

In the vicariate of Colombo, in 1856, 372 Protestants and 326 heathens were received into the Church. The Vicar-Apostolic, Dr. Cajetano Antonio, Bishop of Usula, has a coadjutor, the Right Rev. Dr. Bravi, Bishop of Tipasa. The Vicars-Apostolic reside in Jaffna and Colombo.

For the convenience of our readers, we subjoin a table, extracted from the *Madras Directory*, showing the Catholic statistics of India.

VICARIATES.	Bishops.	Priests.	Catholic population.
Madras	1	18	44,480
Hyderabad	1	6	4,000
Vizagapatam	1	15	7,130
Pondicherry	1	53	100,000
Mysore	1	16	17,110
Coimbatore	1	11	17,200
Madura	1	37	140,000
Quilon	1	16	49,200
Verapoly	1	439	228,006
Mangalore	1	24	30,480
Bombay	2	33	17,100
Agra	1	25	20,000
Patna	1	10	3,400
Western Bengal	1	12	15,000
Eastern Bengal	1	6	9,000
Ava and Pegu	1	11	5,300
Malayan Peninsula	1	23	5,400
Siam	1	12	4,900
Jaffna	1	17	60,000
Colombo	2	18	90,900
Total	22	802	968,656

*** For further information on this subject, we must refer our readers to the excellent pamphlet, *Relations of the Catholic Church in India with the Honourable East India Company*, by the Very Rev. Stephen Fennelly, Vicar-General of Madras. Dublin: Duffy, 1857.

LAURENCE VAUX.

BISHOP CHALLONER gives us accounts of 186 priests and lay persons who suffered death for their fidelity to the Catholic Church under Queen Elizabeth. From his memoirs he reasonably omitted those who were implicated in any real trea-

son against the State. Yet, while we own that such persons cannot be called martyrs, we think, considering the express terms of the Bull of St. Pius V., which pronounces anathema on those who obey Elizabeth, that the Bishop is scarcely justified in omitting from his list either Felton, who pasted the Bull to the Bishop of London's gates; or Leyburn, who, in obedience to it, denied Elizabeth to be his lawful sovereign; or Story, of whose martyrdom we gave an account last March; or Woodhouse, the first priest that suffered for religion alone. But besides these additions to be made to Challoner, there are two other categories of persons, whom we will describe in the words of Alban Butler, from a Ms. account of the English College of Douai, now in the royal library of Brussels.* After giving a catalogue of 127 martyrs of that college, and a supplement containing seven more names, he says, "These are about all, whose names are known to us, who suffered death for their religion and priesthood;" and then he adds, "Others there are, whose names never were ascertained by us, to the number of about twenty;" and again, "To this catalogue we might add another of those who suffered imprisonment and exile; but their number is so great that it would be too long to rehearse them." Considering the suspicion and the terrorism that every where surrounded the Catholics, it is no wonder that they had such difficulty in getting authentic accounts of their martyrs. We lately showed how they were often obliged to acquiesce in the false reports of Protestants, from having no means of testing their truth. No wonder that in such a state of things there should be twenty anonymous martyrs; whose names and histories may, however, be discovered if our researches into historical monuments are carried far enough. Of those who suffered imprisonment for the faith, a large class deserves to be placed on the list of martyrs; those, namely, who died in prison in consequence of the hardships they had to endure and the infected air they had to breathe. Bridgewater in his Catalogue appends to the names of such persons the touching epitaph, *Obiit in vinculis martyr*, "He died in prison the death of a martyr." If any one should attempt to make a perfect list of these noble witnesses, he would find that he had undertaken the labour of a life. There is not an old prison in England that has not been sanctified by such slow martyrdoms.

Of these secondary martyrs, as we may call them, no one is more deserving of a memorial than he whose name stands at the head of this article, and whose history we are about briefly to relate.

* Ms. no. 15,594.

Laurence Vaux, or Vaulx, or Vauce, or Vause, or Vawce, —for his name is spelt in all these ways, and others beside,— was born at Blackrode in Lancashire, about 1518. He was educated at Queen's College, Oxford, from whence he migrated to Corpus Christi College, where he was made B.D., July 29th, 1556. After this he acted as chaplain to James Brooks Bishop of Gloucester, and was made Canon of Salisbury. When Philip and Mary restored the foundation of the Collegiate Church of Manchester, George Collier was named guardian, and Laurence Vaux and John Coppage fellows. On the death of Collier, in 1557, Vaux succeeded him, and admitted two more fellows, Robert Erlond and Richard Harte; there was also a chaplain, named Robert Prestwich, attached to the church,—a man too much addicted to his cups. At the death of Queen Mary, Vaux, understanding how matters were likely to turn out, packed up the papers and valuables of the college, and, with Coppage, carried them to a place of safety. While they were away in London (Oct. 19, 1559), Edwin Sandys and the other royal commissioners held their visitation at Manchester. In their book the absence of Vaux and Coppage is recorded; and then it is stated that Erlond, the fellow, and Prestwich, the tippling chaplain, appeared and subscribed to the articles of supremacy and religion. Prestwich then received a severe lecture from the commissioners, who warned him not to go on frequenting taverns, unless he wished to be suspended. Then came Richard Harte, the fellow, who manfully refused to subscribe, and thereupon had to enter into his own recognisances for 300*l.*, and to find two sureties for 100*l.* each, to answer for his appearance when called on. These persons, says the visitation-book,* produced no deeds or other papers belonging to the college; and said that the guardian had taken them away with him, and that he kept every thing in his custody without asking their consent.

Vaux, according to Dr. Wroe,† was “laborious and learned in some part of the learning of those times, being an exact grammarian. He was also devout and zealous in his way, and an opposer of the Reformation; on which account he was either turned out or left his place in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and, as it is said, fled beyond sea into Ireland; where he fell among thieves, who robbed him, and slew some of his fellow-travellers, but himself escaped.” Dr. Wroe says that he had lived in the family of Standish of Standish; here, at any rate, he left most of what he had carried from Manchester, altar-plate and books, “some of which are there

* State-Paper Office, Domestic, Eliz. vol. x. p. 101.

† See Bishop Kennet's Collections, Lansdowne Ms. 981, fol. 104.

yet to be seen. I more particularly took notice of a curious silver-gilt paten, inlaid with pearl, whereon the Host was consecrated, and a very fine wrought pixis of plate answerable to it, wherein it was laid up and preserved. It is to be wished that whatsoever it is, it were again restored to the Church. He was a man well-beloved, and much honoured by many in Manchester, especially for his honesty and generosity." So far Dr. Wroe.

We do not know where Dr. Wroe got his story about the flight to Ireland, and the falling among thieves. If it took place at all, it was probably just after the visitation, in the early part of 1560.

We have read the story elsewhere, with the addition of some amusing details. Vaux and his party were suddenly surrounded by a party of Irish brigands, who used them very roughly, and after knocking them down, began to examine their baggage. The contents of the baggage soon revealed the sacerdotal character of some of the party; rich chalices and vestments were displayed before the robbers' eyes. They immediately unbound the chief of the party, and knelt around him, addressing him in their unknown tongue, probably to request his blessing. Not willing to give his blessing before he had made sure of his property, he held back; when one of the robbers came behind him, took hold of his right arm, and forced him to make the sign of the cross over the prostrate thieves, who immediately decamped with both booty and blessing.

After this he returned to England, was taken, deprived of his preferments, and made to enter into his recognisances to keep the peace towards the queen. Strype* quotes a document of the year 1561, by which we learn that he was ordered "to remain in the county of Worcester;" while "Richard Harte, late one of the curates of Manchester, was to remain in Kent or Sussex." A marginal note informs us that "these two are thought to behave themselves very seditious and contrary to their recognisances, secretly lurking in Lancashire; and are said to be maintained there by rulers and gentlemen of that country." Doubtless one of these gentlemen was Mr. Standish, with whom Vaux certainly deposited much of the college property, as Wroe has told us, and as we shall see further on.

A document in the State-Paper Office, or in any of the collections from which Strype compiled his Annals, was not put there for nothing: the papers there are not for speculation, but practice; they are there to be acted upon. After the information of the above marginal note, we have no doubt that a

* Annals, vol. i. pt. i. p. 413.

search was made for Vaux ; who, however, eluded the pursuivants, crossed the sea into Belgium, and retired to Louvain, a city which had afforded hospitality to several English Catholics in the time of Edward VI. Here he found several of his countrymen circumstanced as he was, to whose children, according to Dr. Wroe, he acted as schoolmaster. The same authority also tells us that while at Louvain "he wrote a book *de Ceremoniis Ecclesiæ*, and another called *Brevis Forma Confessionis*," concerning which we can give no bibliographical information, except that the former tract appears to have been translated and printed as one of the appendices to the *Catechism*, which we shall have to mention below.

From Louvain, Vaux made a journey to Rome, in 1566, the year of the accession of St. Pius V. to the pontificate. One of the Pope's first acts seems to have been to hold a consistory, in which, although several of the old Bishops were yet alive, he named Dr. Nicholas Sanders and Dr. Thomas Harding his apostolic delegates for England, with full powers of conferring faculties on priests, and with a special mission to promulgate the decision made by the Council of Trent in 1562, and confirmed by himself in consistory, that the English committed mortal sin, and were guilty of schism or heresy, if they attended the places of worship of the Establishment. In obedience to this command, Sanders wrote a letter to Vaux, intended, however, as a pastoral for the English in general, and commissioned several clergymen to enforce it by their personal influence. Among others, the following priests travelled up and down Lancashire to publish the Papal decision : Laurence Vaux ; William Allen, afterwards Cardinal ; Marwen, late Chaplain to Bishop Bonner ; Marshall, the deprived Dean of Christ Church, Oxford ; Hargreave, the sequestered Vicar of Blackbourne ; besides others, named Peel, French, Asbrook, Sidhall, two Bannisters, and Henry Crane. The following weighty, solemn, and authoritative letter, written by Vaux to one of his Lancashire friends, Nov. 2, 1566, belongs to the history of this mission :

"I understand by your letter that ye be in doubt how to understand the letter sent from Dr. Sanders to me, &c. After that Almighty God hath given a precept to our first parents, that they should not eat of the tree of knowledge of good and evil upon pain of death, when our mother Eve talked with the devil in the serpent, she would not understand the plain words, but did extenuate and diminish the same, that thereby her offence might seem the less in breaking the precept ; where God said plainly, *in what day ye shall eat of it, ye shall die*, she said, *peradventure we shall die*, speaking it doubtfully. The corrupt nature of man is such, that such pre-

cepts as be against our carnal wills, or our licentious appetites, we would gladly extenuate, diminish, or misconstrue, so that we might have our own voluptuous pleasure and carnal appetite. Concerning Mr. Dr. Sanders' letter, I am charged to make a definitive sentence, that all such as offer children to the baptism now used, or be present at the communion of service now used in churches in England, as well the laity as the clergy, do not walk in the state of salvation; neither we may not communicate or sociate ourselves in company with schismatics or heretics in divine things; there is no exception or dispensation can be had for any of the laity, if they will stand in state of salvation. Ye must not think this to be any severity or rigorousness of the Pope Pius V. that now is God's vicar in earth, to whom at this present God hath appointed the government of His Church on earth, who for his singular virtues and sundry miracles that God by him hath wrought excelleth all his predecessors that hath been since St. Gregory's time, which sent St. Austin and others with him to preach the faith in England. The Pope that now is hath no less zeal and good-will to reduce England to the unity of Christ his Church than St. Gregory had, as he hath shown himself both in word and deed; and partly I heard him myself express in words and deed, being with him in his own private chamber at Rome. By my special friend I was brought into his chamber to hear him speak himself what a benefit was granted in the consistory for England, to the intent I might make more plain declaration to Mr. Dr. Sanders, and to Mr. Dr. Harding, concerning the authority granted unto them in the consistory by the Pope for the souls' health of them that dwell in England; and for because I did partly know their commission, the said doctors earnestly requested and moved me to come into England, for, as they thought, I might be able to give some instruction to such as have authority under them in England as occasion serveth. They wrote to me, they put me in trust, and charged me to signify the truth to others that now be deceived through ignorance in matters of faith and conscience. I must therefore, without halting, colouring, or dissembling, tell you that the Pope cannot dispense any of the laity to entangle themselves with the schism, as is afore written, concerning sacraments and service, that ye may not be present amongst them. If ye associate yourselves at sacraments or service, it is contrary to the unity of Christ his Church: ye fall into schism, that is to say, ye be separated from Christ his Church; and being in that state, as saith St. Augustine, although you lead never so good a life in the sight of the world, the wrath of God hangeth over you, and dying in that state [ye] shall lose the everlasting life in heaven. It is no small danger to continue in schism; and ordinarily no priest in England hath authority to absolve from schism, except he have his authority from the Catholic See by Mr. Dr. Sanders and Mr. Dr. Harding. In the holy Scripture we read many terrible examples that may make us afraid to enter into schism. The two sons of Aaron, because they offered strange fire not appointed for the priests of God, were

stroken with sudden death. In what miserable state be priests in England, which, contrary to the ordinances of the Catholic Church, offer unto God service and communion that is strange, schismatical, and heretical! Also when Coram, Dathan and Abirom would not be content with the ministration that Moses and Aaron offered to God, but would minister and offer that which they were not appointed to do, Moses, by the commandment of God, commanded all the people to separate themselves from their ministration, and touch nothing thereof: and straightway God poured out His vengeance on them, and they that took that schismatical ministration upon them were swallowed up into hell alive: and the people that would not separate themselves out of their company in the time of their schismatical ministration were burnt up in three tents to the number of two hundred and fifty. O, how terrible an example is this, both to the ministers of this schismatical service, and devilish and damnable communion, and to the laity that cometh to the same! Such as halt upon both parties God doth most abhor. No man can serve two contrary masters; and St. Paul exhorteth not to draw in yoke with the infidels, but with the faithful; for what society is unto light with darkness? Not only they that be doers of evil be worthy death, but the consenters thereunto. St. Paul saith, no trouble, adversity, anguish, imprisonment, nor corporal death, ought to separate us from the love of God. In ecclesiastical histories we read of as great persecution and trial of the people as is now; amongst other examples in *Tripartita Historia* mention is made that such as would not come to the Arians' communion were put in prison, the communion was brought unto them, their mouths were opened with sticks or irons; women had the paps writhen off: amongst other, there was a constant woman named Olympias, who, refusing the Arians' communion, and being sore tormented therefore, she said, 'Lay on me any more punishment; for it is not lawful for me to do that which the godly refuse to do.' The same answer ought to be made of the laity nowadays. There is not one of the old Bishops or godly priests of God that will be present at the schismatical service or damnable communion now used: for the which cause they have lost their livings; some be in corporal prison, some in exile, and, like good pastors, be ready to suffer death in that cause, as it is the duty and office of the Bishops to go before their flock, and to [be] their leaders in matters of faith in religion. So the clergy and laity are bounden to follow their examples, if they intend to be partakers with the Bishops of the joys of heaven. And, thanks be to God, a number not only of the clergy, but as well of the temporality, both of them that be worshipful and inferiors to them, do follow their Bishops constantly, and will in no wise come at the schismatical service. And such as frequenteth the schismatical service now used in the Church in England, must either contemn them as fond, foolish men, that refuse to be present at service, or else their own consciences will accuse them that they do naughty in that they do contrary to the example given them of the Bishops. I beseech you consider all the days that you have to

live in this world; although ye might [live] a thousand years, it is but a moment in comparison of the life everlasting. What doth it profit a man to have solace, pleasure, and prosperity, that can be wished in this world, when everlasting torments do follow the same? For by much trouble and adversity we must enter into the glory of God, saith the Scripture; and as St. James saith, he that will flatter and dissemble with the world is enemy to God. I pray you [hear] the comfortable promise of our Saviour Christ in His gospel. Whosoever will confess Christ and the faith of His spouse of the Catholic Church before men, He will confess him before His Father in heaven; and whoso denieth Christ and His Catholic faith before men, Christ will deny before His Father in heaven. He that loseth his life for Christ or the Catholic faith shall find everlasting joys: Ye that have followed Me, shall Christ say, shall sit upon the seats, judging the tribes of Israel. And at the day of judgment Christ shall say, Ye be they which have tarried with Me in My temptations and adversities; therefore I dispose unto you a kingdom, that ye may eat and drink upon My table in the kingdom of heaven. Thus, to conclude, your good examples in the premises may not [only] be the salvation of your own soul, but upon your examples dependeth the salvation of a great number of the simple that know not the right hand from the left. Although this my rude letter appear hard, sharp, bitter, and sour, yet it is the truth, as I am persuaded in my conscience, as I shall answer at the terrible day of judgment, and specially in God's cause I may not halt nor dissemble. What I write here to you I will wish Sir Richard Molineux, Sir William Norris, and other my friends to be partakers [of], not only to hear this my rude letter, but to follow this counsel. Although it be simple and rude, yet I doubt not but it is true, as knoweth our Lord, who ever keep you and yours in health and prosperity.

Nov. 2, 1566.

Yours ever,

L. V.

Athanasius: Whosoever will be saved, afore all things, in heart, word, and deed he must keep the Catholic faith firmly, wholly, and inviolate, or else without doubt he shall perish in everlasting pain. Thus saith our creed.*

Sanders alludes to this mission in a sentence of the dedication to Pius V. prefixed to the *De Visibili Monarchia*, where he reminds the Pope of "his pastoral solicitude, in sending a few years ago to the English in their own country to declare to them his desire to see England return to the bosom of the Catholic Church, and to promise them that he would use every exertion to bring it about. The fruit of the mission is daily exemplified in the multitudes both of nobles and commons who are every day leaving the schism, and returning to the Church." We have not been able to find a copy of Sanders's letter, but there is a multitude of documents relating to it and to this mission in the State-Paper Office;

* State-Paper Office, Domestic, Eliz. vol. xli. art. 1.

the whole forms an important chapter of the history of religion in Lancashire, and abounds in notices of the illustrious Catholic families of that county. We regret that our imperfect information prevents our entering further into the subject at present. A brief abstract of the papers alluded to may be found in Strype, *Annals*, vol. i. part ii. p. 259.

In consequence of the strict search which was made for him as soon as the court heard of the commotion his preaching was causing among the gentlemen of Lancashire, Vaux had once more to retire from the country. His flight was not so hurried but that he found means to convey over some of the valuable property of the college of which he was still the legitimate guardian, though he left the bulk of it in the hands of Mr. Standish. Once more he retired to Louvain, and, we may suppose, again occupied himself in teaching the English school there; for which he wrote "A Catechism, or a Christian Doctrine necessary for children and ignorant people," which Paquot says was published at Louvain in 1567, though, as we shall see by and by, it was not printed till 1582 or 1583. It was afterwards often republished, and the later editions have three appendices: "Certain brief notes of divers godly matters;" "An instruction of the laudable customs used in the Catholic Church;" and "Godly contemplations for the unlearned." At Louvain he enjoyed the society of Dr. Allen, Dr. Thomas Baily, Dr. Wilson, Cuthbert Vaux, his own kinsman, now licentiate of theology and fellow of the lesser College of Theologians in Louvain, and Lawrence Webbe; all exiled priests, and most of them afterwards famous for their share in the great foundation at Douai.

In 1572, Vaux, now in his fifty-fourth year, was received as a guest into the monastery of St. Martin, at Louvain, a house belonging to the canons-regular of St. Augustine, of the congregation of Windesheim. After a few months he wrote a letter petitioning to be admitted into the order, the autograph of which was preserved in the conventual archives, and has now passed, with great part of those valuable papers, into the hands of M. Edward Van Even, archivist of Louvain. We subjoin the letter:

"May it please you to understand, reverend father, that I, Laurence Vaux, an English priest exiled from my country for the Catholic faith, and now in the fifty-third year of my age, have a great desire to enter the order of the canons-regular, to take the habit, and to make the profession according to the rule of St. Augustine and your constitutions, and to remain in the order till my death, provided I can obtain your consent. Therefore I humbly beg your leave and favour. Moreover you must know that this request

comes from no sudden notion, but from long deliberation; for from a boy my mind has been always attached to your religious order, though hitherto I have had no opportunity of entering it; nor did I ever petition for admission before I came to the monastery of St. Martin, at Louvain, where I was received most kindly and favourably, and where for some months I have lived with the fathers, who have seen my disposition, and proved my abilities. The holy conversation of the prior and convent makes me every day more anxious to become a religious: but I do not wish to put others to inconvenience for my convenience; therefore if it can be done without damage or loss to your order, I beg that you will grant me permission to take the habit, and make my profession in the aforesaid monastery. By me, Laurence Vaux."

He was accepted, and on St. Laurence's day, August 10, 1572, he was clothed with the habit. His old friend Goldwell, Bishop of St. Asaph, wrote to him from Rome to congratulate him; we extract his letter from Molanus, *Annales Urbis Lovanii*, lib. v. c. xxxiv.:

"DEAREST FATHER LAURENCE,—I am delighted to hear that you have not only left your dignities and your property in England for the Catholic faith, but that also you have lately entered the order of canons-regular. This order of yours dates from the Apostles' times, before St. Augustine, who reformed it; and it was held in such esteem, that eight Popes in succession were elected from it, among whom was our countryman, Hadrian IV. Under Pius V. I was for five years dean of St. John Lateran's, which formerly was the first and mother church of your order throughout the world. There I found many ancient monuments in praise of your order, and many privileges granted to it."

By the 8th of May 1573 he had finished his novitiate, and before his profession he appeared with Paul Van den Bossche, the prior, before a notary public, to make the disposition of his property. As the list of church-plate which he had saved from Manchester is not without a certain antiquarian interest, we will give it at some length.

The first catalogue is of things that he had brought over to Louvain with him, and deposited in the custody of the prior of his convent:

"*Imprimis*; a chalice, paten and spoon, gilt, weighing xxxix ounces, or thereabouts.

Item, a silver thurible parcel-gilt, weighing xxij ounces.

Item, a gilt monstrance with reliquary, weighing together xlv ounces and three quarters; which reliquary enclosed, is said to be ornamented with jewels, and to contain relics of St. Martin and other saints.

Item, a gilt silver instrument for giving the pax, with an image

of Christ crucified, with Mary and John, and coats of arms beneath, weighing about v ounces.

Item, a cope, a chasuble, and two dalmatics, of red silk shot with gold, the chasuble having images of the B. Virgin Mary and other saints, with this inscription in English: 'Praye for the soul off Huogh Oldham,' and the cope the same inscription, but not the dalmatics."

At the same time he made the following disposition of the things he had left in the custody of Mr. Standish and elsewhere:

"He wills that all and singular his goods, wherever they may be found, be disposed of to pious uses according to the discretion of his executors, William Allen, Thomas Bozley, and Thomas Wilson. He declares that he has had in his custody for many years the goods belonging to Manchester College, described in the former instrument, which are now in the custody of the prior of St. Martin's.

Moreover he declares that he has left in the custody of Mr. Edward Standysse, Lord of Standisse, the following goods belonging to the said college:

A silver vessel for chrism, with images of the xii apostles placed round it, weighing $44\frac{7}{8}$ oz.

Item, four silver-gilt basins for washing, weighing $49\frac{1}{4}$ oz.

Item, a silver-gilt candlestick, $8\frac{1}{4}$ oz.

Item, a silver-gilt cross, $19\frac{1}{2}$ oz.

Item, a silver-gilt thurible, $33\frac{1}{2}$ oz.

Item, a silver-gilt image of St. Peter, 22 oz.

Item, a silver parcel-gilt monstrance, with relics of saints, $15\frac{7}{8}$ oz.

Item, a silver instrument for showing relics, 16 oz.

Item, two little silver bells, one gilt, $11\frac{3}{4}$ oz.

Item, one cruet of silver, 3 oz.

Item, two little silver crowns, 1 oz.

Item, a pax, 3 oz.

Item, four vestments for mass, viz. cope, chasuble, deacon and subdeacon's vestments, of purple silk, very precious.

Item, another purple silk chasuble.

Item, another green.

Item, two copes of green satin.

Item, all the deeds and muniments and letters belonging to the said college were placed in a little box, and left with the said Mr. Standysse.

Item. He declares that he has left in the custody of the Mother Superior of the Ursulines,* in Half Street, Louvain, a silver-gilt thurible of 19 oz.

Willing and desiring, and laying it on the consciences of his said executors, that they shall recover these deposits as far as possible, and restore them to Manchester College, when it shall be restored to the Catholic faith, or when Catholics shall live in it.

* This was an Englishwoman, Sister Margaret Clement, aunt to Dr. Clement, Dean of St. Gudule's, Brussels, elected prioress in 1569.

Making them his executors to give receipts for the things deposited in England or elsewhere, and to compel legally their restoration.

In the presence of Cuthbert Vaux, Laurence Webbe, and John de Wamel, notary.”*

There was also a codicil, which Vaux kept in his own hands, and which has not been found.

He must have made his vows shortly after, and then his piety and experience soon gained him a high place in the esteem of his fellow religious; so that in 1577, when the prior's chair became vacant by the transition of its occupant to the Carthusian order, there were serious attempts to elect Vaux to the office of successor. We have transcribed the following from a Ms. chronicle of the monastery compiled in the last century, which was shown to us by the Bishop of Bruges.

“In the confusion which followed the vacancy of the prior's chair, a further dispute arose among the brethren, which of them should be reckoned greatest. Some wished to elect one, some another; some even desired to have F. Laurence Vaux for prior, and endeavoured to elect him. People said that he was not unwilling to accept the dignity, in order that he might be able to receive with him into the monastery a lot of Englishmen, who had fled from their country after suffering persecution there for their profession of the Catholic faith, in which case our monastery would have become as it were a seminary for the English. Meanwhile the temporal affairs of the house naturally fell into confusion, especially as the troubles of the Low Countries commenced about 1577; and almost all the towns were infested with a garrison of poor soldiers, who were scarcely ever paid.”†

After a time this state of uncertainty was terminated by the election of Augustine Baesten, of Sichein, then prior of Croix-à-Lens, who was confirmed July 18, 1578. At the same time probably Vaux was made sub-prior, in which office he continued till Midsummer 1580, when we read that he exhibited to the prior an English letter written by Dr. Allen, from Rheims, to call him into France, in order that from thence he might, according to the Pope's command, pass over to England, with the blessing and leave of his prior. He was allowed to depart on St. John Baptist's day. The following letter will show how he succeeded in his mission. It was written by Vaux, from his prison in Westminster, to the prior of St. Martin's, Oct. 20, 1580:

* These lists have been taken from copies formerly in the archives of St. Martin's, and now in the hands of M. Van Even.

† Chronicon Martinianum, vol. i. p. 270.

“MY REVEREND FATHER,—That I am so late in writing is not from want of love ; I have at last an opportunity, so I will tell you all my adversities and tribulations from the 1st of August to the present day, into which I fell while I journeyed towards my appointed country. I was intercepted, and taken 140 miles on this side of the post assigned to me. I will briefly give you the summary of the whole affair. On the 1st of August, with two companions, I started from Rheims towards England, and on the eighth day we arrived at the port of Boulogne, and hired a ship for England ; but for four days we had to wait for a fair wind (for it blew from the west, and was contrary). On the fourth day, about noon, it changed to the south, and, being good enough, we went on board, and in four hours reached England, and landed at a port called Dover. When we had entered an inn there, the mayor, with some gentlemen, came to us to ask who and what we were ; then, after hearing our answers, he commanded ourselves and our baggage to be searched in his presence, for fear we might have letters or other unlawful things about us (for he had a command from the queen to keep strict watch on the ports) ; but, thank God, no letter or other unlawful thing was found. So pledging us in a glass of excellent wine, he left us free to go wherever our business called us. We had there a merry supper, and at dawn next day we hired horses to Canterbury, sixteen miles ; at Canterbury we ate and drank, and then hired fresh horses for Rochester, twenty miles further. But woe is me, in the mean time we had been betrayed by a Frenchman, who had come in our company from Boulogne, and who pretended not to understand a word of English ; but he suddenly gave us the slip, without bidding us farewell, at Canterbury, and went stealthily to one of the queen’s council who dwelt there, before whom he accused us of all he had seen and understood. The councillor, therefore, sent post haste after us, and apprehended us in Rochester, after summoning the mayor and other officials. They first took us as prisoners to the governor of that county, who treated us very honourably both in deeds and words, listening kindly to my reasons, and so wrote favourably in my behalf to the queen’s council. The fifth day afterwards the secretary of the queen’s privy council was sent to us with sixty interrogatories in writing, who examined us separately on the same, and wrote down our answers. But to some theological questions I refused to give him an answer because he was a layman, and so he departed. On the eleventh day after, we were brought before the Bishop of London, who proposed to me the same theological questions ; after three hours spent in talking, because I would not agree with him, he committed us to the prison in Westminster Close. There is here a beautiful monastery, of ancient foundation and construction, endowed with vast revenues by most generous kings. The glorious church, with other fair buildings of hewn stone, still remains in its pristine beauty ; but the abbot and his monks are changed into a dean and secular canons, with cantors and singing men. Divine service is celebrated every day after their manner in the said

church; I can hear the singing and organ in my cell. But to be brief. When I was taken to the prison-hall, I found there no small number of prisoners,—nobles, priests, women, gentlemen, and lay people,—all shut up for the Catholic faith. They congratulated me on my arrival. We have soft beds, rooms tidy enough, where we can read our hours, say our prayers, and study. From my room I have a charming prospect, from one window towards the south, and from the other towards the north. Twice a day we all go down to the dining-room, and there sit down together to table. We are very well treated for diet, having many dishes, both boiled and roast. We always have the best white bread, and capital beer and wine. Nothing is heard among us but what is Catholic, pious, and holy. The daily expenses for the table are ten stivers (pence) a-day,—four for dinner, four for supper, and two for our beds. A maid makes the beds and sweeps the rooms. So I remain a prisoner, but well content with my state; we hope for better things at last. The Jesuits prosper. Farewell, and pray for me. In haste, 20 Oct. 1580. Salute in my name, I beg of you, Reverend Father Paul, Vlimmers, Simon, Peter, the procurator, and my dearest Gregory, and all the rest. Humbly asking the help of their prayers, I subscribe myself, yours most humbly, Laurence Vaux, canon-regular.”*

This letter shows that Vaux was chosen to form part of the famous mission which Campion and Parsons led into England at Midsummer 1580. For his bodily comfort it was happy that he was taken so early; for soon afterwards the prisons began to be overcrowded with recusants, and the prisoners were rendered as miserable as possible by the evangelical severity of the high commission, and especially of the Bishop of London. In the State-Paper Office we have found the questions administered to Vaux and one of his companions,† Mr. Tichbourne; they are at present placed among the undated papers of 1583 (No. 459), but ought to be transferred to August 1580. Though Vaux’s answers are not recorded, it will be interesting to see the nature of the interrogatories that used to put to suspected priests.

“What is his age, art, condition, or calling? Where was he born, how long did he dwell there, and where did he live in England? How long is it since he went abroad? Has he been in England since he first went over, and with whom?‡ Did he go with license, and how did he get license? How was he maintained abroad, by whom, and for what consideration? Where did he live

* *Chronicon Martinianum*, vol. i. p. 270. Paquot, in his literary history of Belgium, sub voce “Vaux,” mentions this letter as existing among the archives of St. Martin; the original is now lost, but a copy has happily been preserved by the laborious compiler of the chronicle.

† The other companion of his journey was probably Thomas Cotesmore.

‡ This question evidently refers to his visit to England in 1566, of which the government had some evidence in his letter of that date.

abroad? How long did he remain there, and what did he do? What Englishmen did he know there? Being professed in religion, what consecrated things has he brought over with him? Are they not sent to some persons as their factors and friends, or for what other purpose did he bring them? Has he used or given any since his arrival; to whom and what? From whence did he come, where is he going, and what the cause of his return? At what port did he land, and in what company? What commission or token has he to do in England; where, what, and to whom? What acquaintance and how long has he with Mr. Titchbourne? Where did they first meet, and is Mr. Titchbourne a priest? What does he know of Titchbourne's kindred; who and where are they, and how long has Titchbourne been over? Whose apparel was brought over in the trunk, and to whom was it sent? Why did he say when he was searched at Dover, 'though they have searched me, they have not found what they sought for?' What was that?"

The examination of Titchbourne consisted of similar questions about himself and Vaux. Though there is nothing that can be properly called theological in them, there are inquiries which touched his life, such as the question whether he had brought over any consecrated things, and whether he had given them to any: to have brought them would have been high treason; to have received such things involved the penalty of *præmunire*, or loss of all property and imprisonment for life. He was quite right to refuse to answer them on any pretext whatever, and if he could maintain that they were theological, he was perfectly justified in doing so.

Another document in the State-Paper Office, No. 111 of the year 1583, will give us the names of some of Vaux's companions in prison—Thomas Cotesmore, an old Sussex priest, taken, probably with Vaux, as he was coming over the seas, and who died in prison, 1590; John More, son of a Yorkshire squire, captured in the same way about the same time; Edward Paule, a deacon, of Coventry, taken at Dover under the same circumstances; Humphrey Eyton, a retainer of the Roper family at Eltham in Kent, committed by Burghley; John Hughes, a Devonshire man, and clerk of one of the secondaries of the counter, committed by the Star-Chamber for being found in the company of a priest; Richard Ross, an old Yorkshire priest, whom the Bishop of London had kept five years in prison for his religion; Humphrey Comberford, a Staffordshire squire committed two years before by the same evangelical prelate; the wife of Mr. Heath, of Fulham; James Braybrooke, a lawyer of Abingdon; Anthony Throgmorton, a merchant of London; Edward Yates, of Berkshire, at whose house *Campion* was captured; and Thomas Edwardes, another of the companions of that martyr. Be-

sides these, he had enjoyed the company of Polidore Morgan and Robert Dibdale, both priests, but both now discharged for want of proof; the latter destined to fall again into the hands of the government, and to expiate his priesthood by martyrdom, in 1586.*

On the 21st of August 1583, Vaux wrote the following letter to his old companion Coppage, the ex-fellow of Manchester College, who, like himself, had fallen into the hands of the Philistines, and was now immured with a great number of other priests in Manchester gaol, where they lived a regular life, as in a college or monastery; as did afterwards the priests at Wisbeach Castle on a larger scale. Vaux refers to this in the opening of his epistle:†

“GOOD MR. COPPAGE,—After my hearty commendations, I have received your gentle letters with a pair of gloves by this bearer, for the which I thank you most heartily. Blessed be God for your more liberty. I am glad that ye have set up a college of priests; I pray God bless you all. Your charge is small in comparison of ours, for I pay 16*l.* a-year for my chamber, and I must be at charge to make a chimney. I have agreed with a workman by great to find all manner of stuff thereunto, and to make it within these twelve days; and when I have made it, I must pay double for faggots and coals, that I could buy in the streets. Our keeper maketh a great gain of us, as well for meat and drink as for fuel; he gaineth half-in-half, which bringeth many into extreme necessity; but God be blessed, as yet I have found no lack. My friends here be many and of much worship, especially since my Catechism came forth in print. At my coming out of foreign countries, I left it with a friend in Louvain, to be put in print; but it came not forth until this last year. Here were great plenty of them sold at 12*d.* a-piece, but now is not one to be bought. A gentleman dwelling within sixteen miles

* State-Paper Office, Dom. same date.

† From returns of Trafford and Worseley, the keepers of “Salford Fleet,” as the Manchester gaol was called, dated Feb. 28, April 13, and Oct. 13, 1582, we learn the names of Coppage’s companions, and the kind of treatment they received. Sir John Southworth, Knight; John Towneley, William Hugh, and John Hockwell, Esqs.; Ralph Worseley, gent.; John Coppage. Thomas Haughton, Ralph Scott, William Wilson, Thomas Woodes, and Christopher Hawkesworth, priests; John Burgh, schoolmaster; Oliver Platt, Thurstan Arrowsmith, and John Finch, husbandmen; Katherine Marsh, Helen Challoner, and three other women. They are reported as very obstinate, and the keepers ask for a preacher to make them conform; failing in this, they “appointed one to read at their meal-times a chapter of the holy Bible. But in contempt of the same, Arrowsmith and Finch have very contemptuously disturbed the reader of the same.” All these were committed by the Earl of Derby, the Bishop of Chester, and the other commissioners for that diocese. There is another list, dated 25 Jan. 1584, containing thirty-eight names; among them twelve priests and three schoolmasters. In addition to the above priests, we have John Morryn or Marwen, Richard Hatton, James Bell, Thos. Williamson, John Alabaster, and John Lowe. Of this company, Bell, Lowe, and Finch were martyrs. Coppage is always mentioned first, as head of the “college.”

of you told me that he had 300, which came in at the north parts, so that there is no want amongst you; and in these parts the Jesuits and seminary priests do use it for the instruction of the people. Thanks be to God, many are reclaimed. I have done your commendations to Mr. Steward, who thanks you of your gentleness; he keepeth his old lodging in the garrets of the house, and an old priest of eighty-four in a chamber next to him. In the next chamber to me is an old priest who knoweth you well, and hath him commended to you. His name is Mr. Cotesmore; he was clerk to the old Lord Delaware, and kept his courts; he hath seen you with our old master [Collier] with my lord. He was made priest and beneficed in Queen Mary's time; he saith service with me daily. I pray you know whether Mr. Worseley the lawyer was not student in the Middle Temple; Mr. Braybrooke, one of my next fellows, a man of much worship, co-captive for religion, desireth to know, and if it be, he giveth hearty commendations to him; he was student with him. I pray you do my hearty commendations to all your college. I pray God bless you all. In haste, 21 Aug. 1583. Yours ever, L. V.—You shall receive by this bearer a Spanish pistolet of gold delivered by a carrier in Holme, a young man."

Vaux's letter reached Coppage, and at his death fell into the hands of the government. He soon began to experience harsher treatment; for the *dispersæ algæ inquisitores*, the prying pursuivants, were set to hunt out all copies of his Catechism. At the end of the year, we find a man called Edmonds who had the temerity to take one of them to church with him instead of a Book of Common Prayer at Great Torrington; his neighbours looked over him, and with the inquisitorial spirit which at that time converted every Englishman into a spy and a police agent, one of them asked the loan of it, that he might peruse it.

"Edmonds," continues the paper,* "gave it him, saying, 'It is a catechism.' Thereupon he read it, and saw that it contained Popish doctrine. In a little time Edmonds asked to have the book back again. He refused to give it back, because it contained matters against the queen's proceedings. Edmonds said, 'You will not use me so; give me my book.' He answered, 'You shall not have it before I peruse it better, and then maybe you shall have it.'"

Poor Edmonds pleaded hard to have his book back; but his tormentor told him, that the more he stirred, the worse it would be for him; so he sighed and spake no more. After church the book was examined, and taken to the mayor, who summoned Edmonds and his master; in the afternoon the provincial Dogberry and his aldermen sat on the case, and concluded that Edmonds could not do much harm with the book, for he could scarce read, and was of no religion, but an

* State-Paper Office, Domestic, 1583, Dec. 26.

arrant knave. Then arose a civic dispute about the seven Sacraments, and Edmonds was discharged. But by another paper we find that "Edmonds has run away, after having been obliged to surrender his livery, fearing the consequences." Such was the effect that being caught with a Popish catechism had on the fortunes of a poor serving-man in those melancholy days. In the inventories of effects seized in the pursuivants' forays on recusants' houses, we often find Vaux's little book mentioned; it was evidently a production that administered a shrewd pinch to Protestantism. Thus when Paul Wentworth made a descent on the house of Mr. Hampden, of Stoke, Buckinghamshire, he carried off from Mr. Hampden's room a superstitious gold tablet, Vaux's Catechism, and "a picture on sarsenet, called Veronica." In the maids' rooms he found manuals of prayers, Jesus-Psalter, and beads, "a piece of bread like old holy-bread," four books called *Lives of Ludovick* (St. Louis), and pictures.*

We are not aware that the Catechism was ever seriously answered, though we learn from Strype that it was one of the "Popish treatises" that were "in answering." In those days, when people were readily permitted to read the reply, but imprisoned if they possessed the book replied to, it did not much matter whether the answer was good or bad; no one could find out its knavery and its folly. Vaux's books at length stirred up all the malice of Aylmer, the pretended Bishop of London, who summoned him and others before the ecclesiastical commissioners early in 1585, and there condemned him to death, if we may believe Strype (*Life of Aylmer*, p. 116). Burghley, although a cruel man, unsparing of Catholic blood whenever any, even the least, political motive seemed to require it, could not go with the minister of his Gospel to this extent of impolitic barbarity. Vaux was an old priest, and so not obnoxious to the statutes against seminaries and Jesuits; he was a venerable old man, an ornament of the clergy, beloved by all who knew him, and affectionately remembered for his charities in Manchester; he was a well-known scholar, and his Catechism, while it proved his power of adapting his teaching to the young and ignorant, showed also the affectionate solicitude that he had for the lambs of the flock. William Cecil, who would not have felt the slightest compunction in sacrificing this person for any "cause of state,"—to frighten the recusants, to strike terror into the priests, or to prove to the people that there were no thoughts of a toleration,—drew back from the meaningless, gratuitous, and cold-blooded brutality of the Bishop, and in-

* State-Paper Office, Dom. 1534, Jan. 26.

terceded with him for the deliverance of Vaux. The Bishop wrote back that the condemned man was now out of his jurisdiction, and that if Burghley wished to save him, he must do it for himself. We will copy his letter:

"It may please your good lordship to understand that though I pity the old fellow Vauxe, being not so bad as the other, and yet bad enough, yet I do not take upon me to deal with him, nor any other in the like state, for his liberty; for I think your lordship do remember what the opinion of the judges was before my lord-chancellor and you at the Star-Chamber, viz. that they being upon condemnation according to the statute in execution for the queen, the commissioners had no more to do with them. Therefore if it shall please your lordships of her majesty's privy council to grant them any favour, from thence it must come, and not from us; and so I take my leave of your good lordship, praying God to bless you with all good graces from heaven. Fulham, 12 April 1585. Your good lordship's assured in Christ,
JOHN LONDON."*

Most biographers, such as Anthony Wood, Dr. Wroe, and the rest, give impossible dates for Vaux's death. Bishop Kennet writes: "He died in Dec. 1571." Mr. Wood says, that "being imprisoned in the Gatehouse at Westminster, he died there in great necessity about 1570. In a Ms. register of St. Margaret's, Westminster, it is said that Laurence Vaux, a prisoner in the Gatehouse, was buried in St. Margaret's church, Dec. 1571." Paquot, however, seems better informed as to the date, when he says that he died of hunger and misery in the Gatehouse in 1588. We find that when he first got into trouble about his book, he was removed from his comfortable rooms in the Gatehouse to the Clink prison in Southwark, where we find him in April 1584. After this we lose all trace of him in the lists of London prisoners: but since he was condemned to death in 1585, we cannot suppose that his condition was improved; and as the tradition is the same both among Protestants and Catholics that he died of hunger and misery in prison,† there is no possible reason to doubt the fact, we may place his death in 1585, in the Clink prison. In the index to the edition of Bridge-

* British Museum, Lansdowne Ms. no. 45, art. 41.

† Since the above was written, the Bishop of Bruges has kindly communicated to us an entry from the Chronicle of St. Martin's (p. 258), which we overlooked in our hasty search. It quite confirms our conjecture as to the date of the death of Father Vaux: "The venerable Father Laurence Vause, martyr, shortly after his profession, discharged the office of sub-prior, and went into England, where he was thrown into prison for the confession of the Catholic faith, and was famished to death, and so gained the crown of martyrdom, 1585." This chronicle, in which nearly all the archives of the convent were copied out, was compiled during the last century by James Thomas Bosmans, Prior of Putte, and Secretary of the Congregation of Windesheim, who died 26th March 1764.

water, published in 1588, we have, "Laurence Vaux, priest, died in prison, a martyr." This is probably Paquot's authority for the date; but, after all, it only proves that he was dead before 1588.

THE GREEK RITE.

AMONG the prejudices and misconceptions which form the chief obstacle to the reconciliation of the Orientals with the Catholics, the question of the Greek rite, according to F. Gagarin, occupies the chief place. Whenever Rome endeavours to bring back a separated Church to the unity of the faith, she is generally supposed to entertain the unexpressed intention of imposing upon it the Latin liturgy and discipline. Nothing, says F. Gagarin, is more false. "*Non opus est*," says Benedict XIV. (Bulla, *Allatæ sunt*, § 19), "*ad Orientales in viam unitatis revocandos, ut lædantur ipsorum ritus, aut corrumpantur, quandoquidem id semper alienum fuit ab instituto Sedis Apostolicæ.*"* The Holy See, says the same great Pope, has always respected "the venerable Oriental rite." The same may be gathered from the Encyclic of Pius IX. of Jan. 6, 1848. So that we may affirm that the Holy See has always seriously and sincerely desired to maintain the Oriental rite; and that no Pope ever intended to make its destruction or alteration a condition of peace between East and West.

If it be objected that in the Ottoman empire and in Poland those who were converted by the Catholic missionaries almost always passed over to the Latin rite, the explanation is easy. In Turkey, till the publication of the *Hatti-houmayoum* of 1856, all Christians of the Oriental rite were placed under the authority of the Patriarch of Constantinople; thus, if persons wished to pass over to the obedience of the Pope, the government compelled them to adopt the Latin rite. And in Poland the Latin rite was the symbol of the dominant nationality, while the Slavonic rite was almost the stigma of the slave; in adopting the Latin rite, the Russian passed naturally into the ranks of the dominant people. It was through political motives, not by the violence, nor by the

* "To recall the Orientals to unity of faith, there is no need of hurting or spoiling their rites; for that was always contrary to the practice of the Apostolic See."

intervention of the Bishops, that so many families passed from the Slavonic to the Roman rite.

It is precisely this historical fact which accounts for the deep prejudice felt against the Latin rite in Russia: both people and government consider Catholicity and what they in derision call *Latinism* to be the same; this nickname is synonymous with *Polonism*, so that the progress of the Catholic Church in Russia is looked upon as the triumph of Polish nationality; while, by another association of ideas, every thing that is favourable to the Poles is considered also to favour the revolutionary spirit. Thus do the Russians come to confound the interests of the Catholic religion with those of socialism and revolution.

In order to cut away this prejudice by the roots, and to prevent the possibility of the suspicion that the Western Church wishes to humiliate the East by abolishing the Oriental liturgies and imposing her own, a bold proposition has lately been made; namely, that the Catholic missionaries, male and female, sent by the Pope to reconcile or educate the Orientals, should all adopt the Oriental rite.

There is much more in this proposition than meets the eye. Persons who have never been in countries where the two rites coexist, may fancy that it is a thing which might easily take place without exciting attention. This is a mistake. The transition would be a fact of immense significance; it would bring home the fact of the unity of the Church to those who at present overlook it, and would be a powerful means of propagating the desire of reconciliation. But can it be done? As it is in accordance with the ancient discipline of the Church, and is contradicted by no fundamental principle of modern discipline, although at present actually unlawful, it might be legalised by the simple permission of the Popes.

In the first ages of the Church, there were different rites; but, as a general rule, there were never two Bishops, with their own clergy and flocks, in the same diocese or ecclesiastical territory. In every place there was but one Bishop and one clergy, and the faithful who travelled from one diocese to another generally conformed to the usage of the place where they were staying. Such, at least, was the advice of the wisest prelates.

They were not only lay people that passed in this way from one rite to another. History has preserved the names of numerous Orientals who occupied episcopal sees in Italy, Africa, Gaul, and England. Even the see of Peter at Rome has been occupied by thirteen Greek, and six Syrian Popes.

In the monasteries likewise there was little question of nationality, or of the rite in which a person had been born and educated. We find in the ancient communities a mixture of men belonging to the most different countries and the most opposite rites: Syrians, Copts, Greeks, Italians, and Gauls lived together. The monks of the East and West used to take long voyages to visit each other, to live under one another, and thus to learn from one another the best rules of perfection.

But by degrees this happy intercourse became impossible. The ancient heresies, which were so rife in the East, were always mixed up with questions of nationalism, and during their prevalence they generally imported some change into the national rite: hence it came to pass in the East that at last there were almost as many rites as there were nations; and the Church, when she found herself able to bring these erring members back to unity, generally found also that, in order to secure what was necessary, she had to be indulgent and condescending in all that was not essential; and that in order to succeed in her endeavours to restore them, she was obliged to respect the liturgies which they had concocted for themselves, and the habit which they had learned from their mothers of confounding in one love their country and their national rites. While, in order to avoid giving any occasion of jealousy, the Church was even obliged to forbid persons to pass from one rite to another.

But this prohibition did not prevent Latin monks having convents in the East, nor Orientals having their establishments in the West, each observing the rites and rules that were proper to their native land. Thus in Italy many Greek convents were erected; even at Toul, St. Gerard, the Bishop of that city, built and endowed a monastery for monks, who were to be of Greek birth and of the Greek rite.

Another instance still more to the point is that of St. Sabas, a monk of either Syrian or Greek rite, at the close of the fifth century. In the year 492 he was archimandrite, or abbot, of the great community of St. Simeon, near Antioch, to which the fame of his sanctity had attracted a great number of Armenians. In the year in question the increase of his members obliged him to build a new church for them; on which he gave the old one to the Armenians, "in order that the thanksgiving used by Christians (the Eucharist) and the reading of the gospels to those present might be conducted in their own language; they were, however, to receive the Divine Sacraments together with the rest, so that all might partake of them in common." But since Peter the Fuller, the Eu-

tychian intruder into the see of Antioch, had inserted a clause into the *Trisagion*, or *Sanctus*, to express his heresy; and since the Armenians had been accustomed to use this form,—St. Sabas, “to take away this novelty, though he allowed them to sing all the rest of the liturgy, which he knew to be rightly conceived, in their vernacular tongue, yet made them sing the *Trisagion* in Greek.”* Cardinal Mai,† in relating this history from the epistles of the monk Nikon, adds another fact of no less importance to our subject, namely, that the Armenians had a Bishop of their own, consecrated by the Greek Patriarch of Antioch. “Nikon,”‡ says he, “testifies that there were certain Armenian monks who lived in the Greek monasteries at Antioch and Jerusalem, who were orthodox, and far from the suspicion of any heresy. He shows that from the time of St. Sabas and abbot Theodosius they lived in community with the Greek monks; but by St. Sabas’s permission were accustomed to sing Mass in the Armenian language (and rite), all except the *Sanctus*, for fear of their adding the clause of Peter the Fuller. The Armenians, moreover, had a Bishop of Edessa, who was always consecrated by the Greek Patriarch of Antioch.” This Bishop was subject to an Armenian Archbishop, who was attached to the monastery of St. Simeon at Antioch; one of these Archbishops appears to have been St. Macarius, who was expelled from Syria by the Saracens in 985, and who wandered as far as Ghent in Belgium, where he died in the abbey of St. Bavon. “He professed,” says the monk who nursed him in his illness, and who afterwards wrote his life,§ “that he was Archbishop of Antioch, which city is the flower of Armenia:” or as it was better expressed in the epitaph on his tomb, he was “Archbishop of the monastery of St. Simeon at Antioch.” Here, then, we have an instance of a single monastic community, ruled by one abbot, where all the monks received the Sacraments in common, but yet were divided into two portions, subject to two separate episcopal jurisdictions, and using two different liturgical rites.

To come to later times, the Dominican missionaries to Armenia, who succeeded in bringing back to the Church a part of that people, founded there monasteries of their order to which they admitted Armenians. They said Office and Mass in the vernacular tongue, but not according to the Armenian rite; for they used the Dominican Breviary and Missal

* Surius, *In Vita S. Sabæ*, Dec. 5.

† Script. Vet. Nov. Collect. tom. iv. p. 166.

‡ Epist. xxxvi. *ad Gerasimum*, fol. 362.

§ Acta Sanctorum, Aprilis, vol. i. p. 875.

translated into Armenian. These religious, then, who were called *united friars*, were only Armenians in language; in rite they were Latins: they were in the same case as the Illyrian Catholics, among whom from time immemorial Mass has been said in the Illyrian language, and according to the Latin rite.

It is known that the Jesuits wished to introduce the same thing into China, though their enemies succeeded in preventing their obtaining the permission of the Holy See. After the suppression of their order, others made use of their labours that had long lain dormant in manuscript, and obtained from Pius VI. a decree, mentioned by Gavanti, permitting Mass to be said in Chinese. But still this does not amount to a precedent for members of a Latin order passing over to an Oriental rite.

The following instance would be decisive, if we could do more than report it on hearsay; but we have as yet been unable to verify the account, though, since it was given us on excellent authority, we have no reason to doubt its accuracy. It is said that the present Pope has given authority to the Capuchin missionaries to Abyssinia to use the Abyssinian rite in all public functions, and yet to retain the Latin rite for Private Masses, if they judge it to be convenient. Hereby one of the greatest objections to this change of rites would be avoided. For as the Oriental rites only allow of one Mass in a church on one day, most missionaries would be only able to offer the Holy Sacrifice at rare and distant intervals, unless they were allowed to satisfy their devotion by saying Low Masses according to the Roman rite in private oratories when they could not sing the Oriental Mass in the church.

Yet even if this should turn out not to be true, we cannot go so far as to say that the project here discussed has been altogether without precedent since the mutual exclusion of the different rites has prevailed. In 1347, the emperor Charles IV. founded in the new city of Prague a magnificent monastery, called first St. Jerome's, and afterwards Emmaus, and gave it to Sclavonians, whom he obliged by his charter to follow their national rite and the rule of St. Benedict at the same time. Pope Clement VI. authorised this arrangement, and afterwards permitted the same prince to found in the same city another monastery, that of St. Ambrose, bound to observe the rite of Milan; so that, as there was at Prague a third Benedictine monastery of the Latin rite, one town presented the spectacle of three convents of the same order following three different rites.

The Catholics of Russia are beginning to see the advantages which would result from propagating the Institution of

Clement VI. in the Slavonic provinces. The same thing has been long understood in the West. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, a man* who well understood all that concerned the missions of the East remarked that, in order to insure the stability of the union between East and West, it was not enough to make them merely acknowledge the same visible head, but that it was necessary to lay deep the foundations of the union; and that nothing could serve this purpose better than the establishment of religious houses using an Oriental rite, but observing a Western rule and obeying a Latin superior-general. He took his chief instances in proof from Russia. He showed by experience that the Latin missionaries, afraid of the united Ruthenians relapsing into schism unless they were attached to the Church by unity of rite, laboured to bring them over to the Latin rite; and that in consequence, the Ruthenians who stuck to the Slavonic rite held the missionaries in abomination, so much so, that they preferred leaving their children to vegetate in ignorance rather than to send them to the schools of the Jesuits or other Latins, where they would be exposed to the danger of being persuaded to abandon their rite. He adds, that in all these countries those who follow the Latin rite, though natives, are looked upon as foreigners, and that in consequence their best actions are blamed because they wound the feeling of nationality.

For these evils Father Thomas could see but one remedy, and that was, to permit the missionaries from the West to adopt the Oriental rite. This simple act would, he tells us, be a certificate of naturalisation; for it would give the missionaries the means of finding their way into society, and of heartily attaching to the See of Peter these suspicious and prejudiced people. This great man, therefore, demanded that there should be Jesuits, Capuchins, Recollects, and other religious, Latin by birth, but belonging to the Slavonic rite by adoption. He himself took great pains to found within his order a congregation of missionaries thus able to make themselves all things to all men.

These considerations have been brought with fresh force before the Catholics of Russia by the late elevation (in 1856) of Mgr. Lewicki, Archbishop of Lemberg and Metropolitan of the united Ruthenians of Galicia, to the cardinalate. We are informed that this act of the Pope has made an incredible sensation in all Slavonic countries. For many months the newspapers have been printing, not only the official documents,

* F. Thomas of Jesus, discalced Carmelite, in his book *De Unione Schismaticorum cum Ecclesiâ Catholicâ procurandâ*.

but also all the addresses sent to the new Cardinal. Every thing that could have the slightest connection with the elevation of a prelate of the Slavonic rite to the Sacred College has been hunted out. It has been particularly remarked, that though this dignity has hitherto been considered as belonging exclusively to the Latins,—insomuch that after the Council of Florence, when Bessarion, the Archbishop of Nice, and Isodore, the Metropolitan of Moscow and Kief, were made Cardinals, they had for the moment to go over to the Latin rite,—yet Pius IX. demanded nothing similar from the Metropolitan of Lemberg, when he raised him to that dignity. It was impossible for the Pope to choose a better means of placing the two rites on the same footing.

The rejoicings of the Slavonic Catholics found an echo even in Russia, where there is a general persuasion that the honour conferred by the Pope on the Archbishop of Lemberg was not without influence on the Emperor Alexander, when at his coronation he gave the Grand Cross of St. Andrew to the too notorious Siemiaszko, the fallen Catholic, who made himself the tool of Nicholas to force the Ruthenians of Russian Poland into schism. The emperor had no other means of keeping the non-united Slavonian episcopate on a level with the united Bishops, who had all been so immensely raised in the estimation of the world by the act of Pius IX. And now for the application of this to the Russian Catholics. Ever since the terrible persecution of the late emperor, many of them have thrown off their lethargy, and have seriously taken in hand the interests of the Church; the improvement in their spirit is so great, that it is impossible not to remark it. Many a heart is now warm which was before cold and paralysed. This new fervour shows itself in the usual way, by the spirit of self-sacrifice which is leading many persons to aspire after a religious life,—the only kind of life where self-sacrifice can be carried out into all its consequences. But the Russian laws oppose so many difficulties to a life in community, and the name of each postulant has to pass through such a long file of administrative *bureaus*, that another expedient has to be made use of.

People in Russia are beginning to understand that the old rule, by which a person could only do what the government allowed him to do, is exploded; common sense has invaded the official mind, and people are beginning to see that they may do any thing that the law does not forbid. Now though it is still forbidden to erect new religious houses, yet people ask whether it is forbidden for women, at least, to practise the religious life like the *monache di casa* of Naples, that is,

to observe in the bosom of the family, like the ascetic virgins and widows of primitive ages, all the essentials of the religious life. They might even go farther: we know how the French nuns, especially those of Paris, after being turned out of their convents by the great revolution, put themselves into communication with a certain priest, who united them together, in spite of their dispersion, by the bond of a common rule, a uniform life, and mutual dependence and aid. Although many of them had belonged to contemplative orders, circumstances forced them to embrace an active life; and God alone knows how much good they did, and what an immense number of families profited by their presence. The same thing was done, or attempted, for the English by the "Jesuitesses," in the commencement of the seventeenth century; and though the order was abolished by Urban VIII., who enforced literally the decree of the Council of Trent, which enclosed all nuns in their cloisters, a similar one was restored by Clement XI., in 1703. Something of the same kind is desired by some persons for Russia.

It seems that a new era is about to commence in the religious development of that country. We have the most positive assurances of the persons most interested in the negotiation, that the Emperor Alexander has made a demand of the Rev. Father Etienne, the Superior-General of the Lazarists and Sisters of Charity at Paris, for *five hundred* nuns of his congregation. Father Etienne declared that he could not possibly spare such a number; but offered a hundred and fifty, on condition that they were to be under the direction of the priests of the mission. In order to be really useful to Russia, this project ought to be carried out according to the plan said to be about to be put in operation in certain Slavonic towns in the Austrian empire, where Sisters of Charity of the Slavonic rite are to be established, and placed under the direction of Lazarist fathers, who are to follow the same rite.

Our readers will now see the reason of the assertion in our last Number that Poland must be contented to yield the propagation of Catholic ideas in Russia to a nation that is regarded with less jealousy. In fact, the Polish tradition of the necessity of assuring the pre-eminence of the Latin over the Slavonic rite in Russia is losing credit every day; the Russian Catholics begin now to comprehend the wisdom of the measures taken by the Popes to preserve the Slavonic liturgy in its integrity.

Nothing that we have said with regard to the desirableness of preserving and even encouraging the Russian rite is in any degree applicable to the plans of those few persons who dream

of an English rite for the restored Anglican Church. The cases of Russia and England are not parallel. Russia has an ancient rite, that she possessed long before the schism. Its origin is lost in antiquity. It is thoroughly Catholic in tone and doctrine. It has been used by saints; it has therefore a claim on the consideration of the Church, and the Church respects it accordingly. But the Anglican Prayer-Book is a compilation made by apostate priests. It has neither beauty, nor antiquity, nor consistency, nor orthodoxy, in its favour; it is therefore destitute of all claim. Besides, the people do not care for the Anglican Prayer-Book. It has no hold upon the poor, and is very little understood by others; if the people were converted it could not be used, nor would they wish it. Again, although the Pope acts as he is doing towards the East, he has no desire of spreading diversity of rites in the West. Witness what is going on in France, where diocese after diocese is adopting, or rather returning to, the Roman Missal and Breviary. Doubtless it would be foolish to assert that Rome would rather see England heretical, than Catholic with a rite of her own; but as there is no question of the sort proposed, the discussion is entirely unpractical. When the proposition is seriously made, it will be time to discuss it.

In Russia and the East, on the contrary, the question is eminently practical: it is no discussion about a rite for the future, about the service to be adopted in certain contingencies; the assurance the Russians seek is, that they will be ever able to keep the treasure which, since the days of primitive Christianity, they have never for a moment let go. And truly no one but a bigot can deny that it is a treasure in itself, and that relatively to the Oriental mind it is more adapted for its purpose than the Latin rite would be. We of the West are more practical and simple; the Orientals are more mystical. And the Oriental liturgies appeal more to this mystical feeling; there is more of concealment, of symbol, of the appearance of solemnity in their rites; the dogmas that we express in articles, they sing in hymns; there is more sublimity of poetry in their antiphons and odes than in ours. As in Arab poetry, so in the Oriental rites, there is a dreaminess of idea and a haze thrown over the object, infinitely attractive to the Eastern mind, but indescribable to a European. It sets before the mental eye the dim grand outlines of a picture; which must be filled up by the spectator, guided only by the few glorious touches which stand out so powerfully. And yet with all this Pindaric grandeur, these liturgies are eminently didactic and dogmatic; so far so, that they easily fill up the gaps of the catechisms and correct the errors of popular teach-

ing. This was triumphantly shown by Cardinal Lewicki, then only Metropolitan of Lemberg, in a pastoral letter of March 10th, 1841, directed to the united Ruthenians, so far as relates to the teaching of the Slavonic liturgy concerning St. Peter and his successors. For instance, in the hymn for the Feast of St. Peter's Chains, that apostle is called "Foundation of the Church, Rock of the faith, who holds the keys of heaven, Prince of the Apostles, the light that illumines all souls, immovable foundation of doctrine, the pastor both of the flock and of the shepherds." In a collect for St. Peter's day it is said, "Peter is the Primate and Prince of the Apostles; he was chosen and preferred by the Lord to sit on His own throne; to him was confided the helm of the Church, and supreme power of the keys." Of St. Sylvester, the Pope who baptised Constantine, the Russian Church sings, "He was a column of fire, he ruled as a saint the holy college, with his doctrine he indoctrinated the earth, his mellifluous words have penetrated every where, he was the primate of the holy college, he was the ornament of the throne of the Apostles," &c. On the Feast of St. Celestine, April 8th, she sings, "It was he that destroyed the heresy of Nestorius, and drove that patriarch from his see of Constantinople;" of St. Leo the Great she tells us, "he was the head of the orthodox Church, the eye and the foundation of the faith, the president of the supreme college of Bishops, the infallible rule of doctrine, the possessor of the supreme See of St. Peter, adorned with the virtue and zeal of that apostle, the column of the orthodox Church of Christ, the conqueror of all heresies, the dawn and the western sun, the successor of St. Peter, inheriting his primacy, and endowed with all the Apostle's zeal." In similar strain the Slavonic liturgical books speak of St. Agapitus, St. Gregory II., and of St. Martin I., who fell a victim to the impiety of the emperor of Byzantium.

Father Passaglia, in his gigantic work on the Immaculate Conception, has quoted a vast array of most beautiful fragments of the same kind relating to our Blessed Lady. Monseigneur Malou's work on the same subject also reproduces several of the kind. But we prefer to lay before our readers part of a long Greek hymn, published by Mone,* from a Venetian Ms. of the fourteenth century. It sums up the beauties which would otherwise have to be sought piecemeal throughout the *Menæa*; it shows too how far we are from having exhausted the symbols of Mary in the Litany of Loretto:

* *Hymni Latini Medii Ævi*, vol. ii. p. 363.

" I have found thee my refuge, O all-holy one,—
 My protection, my bridge, and my harbour of calm.
 I have found thee the comfort of my soul, O Virgin,
 My joy and my breath, and the expanding of my heart.
 Happy my lot, to have thee for an invincible champion :
 I have found thee a defence from my enemies, and my strength ;
 I have found thee my wall, and my castle, O City of God.
 The rudder of my salvation, my anchorage of safety,
 And the anchor of my hopes do I reckon thee, O Virgin.
 Therefore do I run to thee, O sweetness of my heart ;
 And from my soul I beg thee, afford thy usual protection—
 Pass me not by, O venerable one, but quick stretch forth thy
 helping hand,
 Redeeming me from dangers of the soul,
 From spiritual enemies, malevolent, violent :
 Crush them by the might of God,
 Cover me with thy wings, O my joy,
 And hold me up, too high for sin to reach,—
 From sins of thought, of deed, of slippery speech,
 O all-immaculate Throne of Christ !
 For I hold thee for my rampart, thee for my patron,
 Thee also for dew, my refreshing delight,
 For sweet ambrosial manna, O Virgin,
 For nectar-drink, and for the chalice of immortality ;
 For the garden of life, for the vine hung with clusters of grapes ;
 And all my hopes have I fixed on thee,
 Who hast wonderfully subjected all my thoughts to thyself.
 O Mother, Throne, Vessel, Couch of God,
 Spiritual Mountain, and All-holy City—
 Throne whose foundations are upon the Cherubim,
 Couch nearer to God than the Seraphim,
 Vessel of Manna, candlestick of gold,
 The true spring, the country of joy,
 Adorable habitation of the all-highest Word,
 Unspeakable splendour of the Light, grace of the Sun,
 Venerable chamber, Virginal Gate of the Bridegroom God,
 Which he passed through ineffably, and yet, as He alone knew how,
 Miraculously preserved inviolate, holy, unopened, unsealed."

After these extracts, we need be at no loss to understand why the Orientals are so attached to their rituals, and why the Popes should be so loth to disturb them. Besides the intrinsic merits of the Oriental type of liturgy, its testimony to all the disputed doctrines is of the most striking character. It is an unimpeachable witness against Eastern errors ; it is also one of the Church's two great witnesses against Protestantism, which is condemned as strongly by the living voice of Eastern worship as by the West. And if the question was merely about the form and language of the ritual, we apprehend that there would not be a moment's hesitation : but there are other questions of discipline involved, which introduce fresh difficulties ; the Oriental ritual carries with it a married secular priesthood, the prohibition of Low Masses,

Communion in both kinds, and other practices repugnant to the discipline of the West. But in spite of all this, there was once unity that lasted for centuries; there still is unity with vast bodies who hold this discipline, and there easily may be unity again with the whole. We do not imagine that any such concessions are to be expected for any part of the West; but if there is any party in England that is striving for union with these conditions, we would not discourage them. It is better to hope for unity under impossible conditions, than not to hope for unity at all. The idea of union may often remain, even after the conditions are shown to be impracticable. Let us all pray most fervently that the Pope's intentions in this matter may be fulfilled; God alone can tell the happy results that such a flood of grace would produce, not for Russia only, but for all the world.

Reviews.

TRANSLATIONS OF THE SCRIPTURES.

Analecta Juris Pontificii; ou Recueil de Dissertations sur divers sujets de Droit canonique, Liturgie, et Théologie. No. XXI. Rome, 1857.

THE 21st Number of the *Analecta Juris Pontificii*, recently published at Rome, contains a prolix dissertation "On the Translation of the Bible into the Vulgar Tongue." The dissertation consists of three parts: the first reproducing in substance a treatise written by the Dominican Roterus towards the middle of the sixteenth century, on the general question, and especially on the evils to be apprehended from a literal version; the second comprising historic notices of Italian, Spanish, and French versions, especially of that of Mons (of unhappy celebrity), and that of le Maître de Sacy;* the third presenting a comparative review of several translations.

The subject is one that is fraught with the deepest interest; we wish we could say that it is handled by the writer in a manner worthy of it, and answerable to the high character and repute of the work in which his lucubration appears.

* The writer notices and strongly commends the translation of the New Testament by Father Amelote. That of Father Bouhours, which was the subject of much animadversion at the time of its appearance, he does not mention.

A serious responsibility to truth and charity and religion is incurred, and a more than ordinary combination of patient investigation, candour, dispassionate temper, and readiness to make every fair allowance, is required, in the case of a writer who undertakes to show that the scriptural evidences for Catholic dogma and practice have been purposely weakened, obscured, and obliterated in some forty or fifty instances. As his sentence must be stern, and his denunciation severe, a calm and cautious inquiry should precede. Headlong zeal runs the risk of baffling the cause which it has undertaken to vindicate. Exaggerated truth is no longer truth. By insisting upon inconclusive and irrelevant texts as sure vouchers for a dogma, or, which is much the same, by challenging as false brethren those who decline to allege them, the evidence for the dogma is disparaged in the minds of those who are to be argued with. And when, in the eagerness to bring home the charge of bad faith and evil intent, those considerations which would move to a suspending of judgment or mitigation of censure are wholly put aside, as casual error, oversight, vagueness or ambiguity in the text, discrepancy, and, perhaps, even a balance of authorities,—when even facts lying upon the surface are overlooked, and, at the hazard of involving the wisest and the best in the reproach, imputations are lavished in contumelious language, and hateful insinuations are superadded to unsubstantiated charges; certainly we must deplore the wrong sustained by Christian charity, and the disservice done to Christian truth, by its professed defender.

Now we implead the author of the dissertation before us of unfairness and misrepresentation; and we shall substantiate our charges by an examination of the first paragraph upon which we happened to light,—one that, in fact, stands almost foremost in the third part of his dissertation.

Among the ten passages which, as he alleges, are corrupted or badly translated, against the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity and the Divinity of Jesus Christ, the following stands third:

“Evangile de St. Jean, c. i. v. 27: ‘Ipse est qui post me venturus est, qui ante me factus est.’

Calvin et toutes les Bibles de Genève lisent, ‘C’est lui qui vient après moi, qui *est préféré à moi.*’

Traduction de Mons: ‘C’est lui qui doit venir après moi, qui *m’a été préféré.*’ Et à la marge: ‘Qui a été fait avant moi.’

Sacy: ‘C’est lui qui doit venir après moi, qui *m’a été préféré.*’

Genoude: ‘Celui qui vient après moi est au-dessus de moi.’

Que le lecteur juge si les expressions de la Vulgate, *ante me factus est*, parfaitement conformement au grec, qui lit: ‘Il a été engendré

avant moi ;' si ces expressions sont fidèlement rendus par ces mots : ' Il m'a été préféré,' qui Sacy et Mons empruntent à Calvin et à Genève. Cette façon de traduire est une vraie falsification de l'Ecriture, puisqu'elle fait disparaître le témoignage que le Précurseur rend à la divinité de Jésus-Christ. Les Ariens abusaient du mot *factus* contre la consubstantialité du Verbe ; mais les Docteurs Catholiques ont très-bien résout leur objection, ainsi qu'on peut le voir dans Maldonat (p. 48)."

This is strong language, and there is no mistaking it. The author pledges himself distinctly to several assertions : let us see whether he can make them good. The first remark to be made is, that the stigma which he inflicts upon the Mons version of this passage must equally brand others which are the productions of Catholic authors, and that, by the same rule of logic and charity, our Bristow and Witham and Challoner, to mention no others for the present, must be held indebted to Calvin : Rheims and Douay must have "borrowed from Geneva." For the original Rheims (ed. 1582), although, with its customary literalness, it renders the text, "He that shall come after me is made before me," yet in its marginal note it explains the meaning to be, "He is preferred and made of more dignity and excellency than I." That is to say, the Rheims version and the Mons version give the same double rendering, a literal and an equivalent ; the one in the text, the other in the margin, or *vice versâ*. Dr. Witham, a professor of theology at Douai (1730), appends to his translation of the verse, "He that is to come after me is preferred before me" (i. 311-315), the following note : "The sense," says St. Chrysostom, "is, that he is greater in dignity, deserves greater honour, &c. ; though born after me, he was from eternity : λαμπρότερος, ἐντιμότερος, illustrior, honorabilior." In the more recent edition of the Rheims version, as revised by the venerable Bishop Challoner (the text in general use at present amongst ourselves), this rendering, "preferred before me," is substituted for the more literal one, in all the three verses, 15, 27, 30, of the first chapter of the gospel according to St. John.

In every instance the phrase is one and the same, whether in the Vulgate or in the Greek : *Ante me factus est* ; ἔμπροσθέν μου γέγονεν. That the Latin is here conformable to the Greek is perfectly true : that the Greek text reads, "He has been begotten," is not true. A man who undertakes to put the theological student on his guard, ought not to mislead him. A man who seems to make no allowance for mistakes, who ascribes every error, real or supposed, to treacherous intention, should quote the Bible fairly. In his

ignorance or in his haste to convict certain writers, towards whom he evinces a morbid antipathy, of falsifying Holy Writ, he has unconsciously obtruded* upon the sacred and inspired page a statement which is not found there. *Non addetis ad verbum quod vobis loquor, nec auferetis ab eo* (Deut. iv. 2).

But the critic has appealed to Maldonatus; and his appeal shall be attended to.

Maldonatus, after a brief reference to the Arians' perversion of the word *γέγονεν*, noticed by several fathers and ecclesiastical writers, and a glance at an interpretation recited by St. Chrysostom and another proposed by Origen, subjoins these words, which it must be charitably supposed the critic never read: "Vetus sensus est quem Chrysostomus hic, Augustinus, tract. iii., Ambros. lib. iii. de fide, c. 5, Gregor. Hom. 7, in Evang. Beda, Theophyl., Euthym. et Rupertus tradiderunt, *Plus honoris et dignitatis quam ego consecutus est, mihi est antepositus.*"

He justifies this interpretation by the remark that the word *ἐμπροσθεν* is never in holy Scripture used to denote time; as also by discussion on the scope and context.

We beg the reader's attention to the following extract from the venerable Cardinal Bellarmine:

"Ad illud Joan. i. 15, 'ante me factus est,' dico significari illis verbis, non Christum productum esse ante Joannem, sed Joanni *prælatum* et antepositum fuisse; ac si Joannes dixisset, 'Qui post me venit, major me est.' Ita explicat Ambrosius, lib. iv. de fide, et omnes interpretes, ut Augustinus, Chrysostomus, Cyrillus, Theophylactus; et colligitur ex textu; nam sic ait: 'Ante me factus est, quia prior me erat,' id est, *præcessit me dignitate*, quia æternus erat, et ego temporalis." (*De Christo*, lib. iii. cap. xviii. n. 12.)

This is a superabundant disproof of the criminations contained in the paragraph, which we have selected for examination in order to test the candour and trustworthiness of the writer. The reader of the dissertation in the *Analecta* will be cautioned against giving an implicit credence to the remainder. *Il n'y a de beau que le vrai.*

Here we intended to pause; but, upon re-consideration, we deem it necessary to extend our remarks, in order that the

* To deny the applicability of a text to a certain doctrine is, in the considerate language of the author before us, "*renverser la doctrine.*" With equal reason, that is to say, with none, it might be said that the author forges or invents doctrines because he insists upon deducing doctrines from texts which have no bearing upon them. The reader will hardly need the assurance,—however, we give it here distinctly,—that the Catholic dogma of the eternal generation of the Word is again and again inculcated by Sacy in his notes on the first chapter of St. John's gospel, pp. 10, 11, &c.

author may receive full justice at our hands. We are not concerned in the defence, still less in the advocacy, of the several versions which it is the aim of his dissertation to inculcate; our province is simply, in the interests of truth and sacred science, to watch the proceedings taken against them. Be their shortcomings or their faults what they may, their censor is not released from the obligation of honourable dealing. Now petty cavilling and a course of frivolous and vexatious objecting are among his minor delinquencies. The object he steadily pursues, is to impeach the authors of these versions of treachery towards cardinal doctrines and honoured observances and constitutions of the Church, of disparaging holy persons and sacred things; so every fault of which he considers himself to have convicted those whom he has made amenable to his arbitrary tribunal he incontinently scores up under one of the counts of his odious indictment. More than this, his object is in *several* instances secured by a most unaccountable misstatement of fact,—by deserting the patristic interpretation of the sacred text, or by wresting the text to a sense not recognised by any accredited expositor. The reader shall be put in a condition to judge whether these serious charges which we prefer are sustained as they ought to be. We begin with (comparatively) minor matters:

1. As an equivalent for the expression, “mulier quæ erat in civitate *peccatrix*” (St. Luke vii. 37), Sacy and De Carrières have given “une femme de la ville qui était de *mauvaise vie*.” Had the dissertator objected that a literal rendering would have been preferable, and would have answered every purpose, the objection had well been allowed. The exception which he takes, grounded on the observation that a sinner, however guilty before God, is not necessarily notorious before the public as such, seems precluded by the remark of the Pharisees given in the 39th verse: “sciret quæ et qualis est mulier,” &c. Be this as it may, the dissertator taxes the version as “contre l’honneur de Ste. Madeleine” (p. 51), and it accordingly makes the fourth count of his indictment. Now as a corrective of this extravagance, we simply refer to two sermons of a writer of deep piety and unquestioned orthodoxy, wherein (not only the sources and the nature, but) the *scandal* of Magdalene’s sin is emphatically dwelt upon, and t’ e strong language which St. Zeno of Verona has adopted from the prophet Jeremy is quoted and applied.* Very plausible, to be sure, is the extract which the critic adduces from Theophylact, giving, at first sight, a

* Bourdaloue’s sermon on her festival-day (Paneg. t. ii.); sermon for Thursday after Passion Sunday (Carême, t. iii.).

direct negative to what the French version (and also the just-mentioned writers) assert. Not very pertinent, however; for he might, and should, have known that Theophylact,* like many others, held that Mary, the sister of Lazarus, was a distinct person from the woman in question. If this Greek commentator is invoked by the critic as an authority, the version in question is most inconsistently charged with reflecting on one whom it does not specify.

2. The disciple whom Jesus loved records his having taken her whom his dying Master had recommended him *to his own home*. So at least he is generally understood to say. Indeed, that he meant this we cannot doubt; for the phrase he makes use of (*εἰς τὰ ἴδια*) bears this meaning elsewhere in Scripture† and in profane writers; tradition, moreover, attests that the Blessed Virgin sojourned with St. John.‡ The French translators, then, we suppose, were sufficiently correct in rendering the text (St. John xix. 27), “*la prit chez lui*.” No, says the critic: “St. Jean, n’ayant aucune possession en ce monde, ne pouvoit guère recevoir la Ste. Vierge chez lui.” The observation is irrelevant, unless he mean to say that St. John was without a home. St. Augustine,§ from whom he quotes a fragment, is alluding to the disciples’ holding all in common subsequently to the day of Pentecost; “distribution being made,” he says, “of what was needful to this disciple in such wise that therewith was assigned Blessed Mary’s portion as being his mother.” The meaning of St. Augustine in the fragment quoted,—in sua non prædia, quæ nulla propria possidebat, sed officia,—is now clear: St. John was a steward only, not a proprietor. This *chez lui*, however, is reckoned (p. 51) as one of the passages adulterated or mistranslated in derogation of the Blessed Virgin.

3. Whilst we are upon this head, let us notice the critic’s exception to the customary rendering of the Blessed Virgin’s words (St. Luke i. 34), “*Quoniam virum non cognosco*.” He adopts and insists upon Amelote’s rendering of *virum* by *mon mari*; and treats the other, “*je ne connois point d’homme*,”|| as incongruous. We need not add that the version is scored and duly entered under the second count. Now were we inclined to be captious, we might ask, whence comes this *mon*?

* See Cramer’s *Catena Pat. in Luc.* p. 61; St. Thomas’s *Catena Aurea* on Mark xiv.; *Dissert. sur les Trois Maries* in the *Bible de Vence*.

† See Acts xxi. 6; and compare the Greek, Esther v. 10 and vi. 12, with the Hebrew or the Vulgate.

‡ “*Sed cum quo virgo habitare debebat quam cum eo quem Filii hæredem integritatis sciret esse custodem?*” Ambrosius de *Instit. Virg.* c. vii.

§ In Joan. tract. 118.

|| Bossuet has adopted this rendering, *Elévat. sur les Mystères*, semaine 12.

But it suffices to appeal to St. Basil, who in his 235th letter, addressed to Amphilochius,* adduces as parallel, and treats as of similar import, the phrases recited in St. Luke's gospel, and that exhibited in Genesis xxiv. 16, when speaking of the unmarried virgin Rebecca. Amelote's rendering is unquestionably countenanced by several of the best expositors; but we are not compelled to adopt it.

4. Nor are we, deeply as we reverence the authority of St. Bernard, and still more deeply as we venerate the high dignity of her whom he delighted to extol, bound by that reverence to reject the word "lowliness"† or "bassesse,"‡ and adopt the word "*humility*" as the only proper and allowable version of *humilitatem*, ταπεινῶσιν (Luc. i. 48), under penalty of being treated as disparaging the Blessed Virgin. The offensive imputation shall be rebutted by the authority of the pious and learned A Lape: "Humilitas hîc proprie vilitatem significat, non virtutem humilitatis superbiæ oppositam; hæc enim dicitur ταπεινοφροσύνη."§

5. "Cito proferte stolam primam: Bring forth quickly the *first* robe," says the father at the return of the prodigal son. "*La plus belle robe*" is a version which is characterised (p. 61) by our critic as a "*falsification dirigée contre la doctrine certaine en théologie de la réviviscence des mérites.*" A little patience. The Greek πρώτην and the word *primam* are undeniably susceptible of the interpretation given, whatever our critic may say to the contrary. The Anglo-Saxon version, executed so many centuries ago, translates accordingly: "Thæne *selestan* gegyrelan;" and Maldonatus will allow of no other interpretation: "Illam omnium quæ domi sunt pretiosissimam. Non vocavit stolam primam quæ prius usus fuerat, sed quæ omnium erat pretiosissima, quamque ante nunquam induerat."

6. Let us now advert to some new lights which our critic has thrown on the writings of St. Paul, or (to speak more correctly) to certain intemperate and groundless accusations levelled against those who have fairly represented the Apostle's meaning. Among the characteristics of the false teachers to come, St. Paul (1 Tim. iv.) notes their prohibition of marriage, and their *requiring* of abstinence from meats. They "absolutely condemned marriage and the *use* of all kind of meat," says Challoner on the passage. The Vulgate, closely following the Greek, reads at the third verse, "prohibentium

* Ed. Ben. iii. 360.

† See Wetham's note, i. 204.

‡ So Bossuet, *Elévation sur les Mys'tères*, semaine 14.

§ A Lape quotes several of the best expositors; and refers to Gen. xxvi. 32, Esther xv. 2, Judith vi., Philip. iii. 21, as ascertaining the meaning of the word.

nubere, abstinere a cibis, quos Deus," &c. Now, to draw from these words, as Challoner has done, according to the clear and unanimous consent of the fathers,* the statement that the false teachers condemned the *use* of meat, or, in other words, *required* abstinence from meats, it is obviously necessary to suppose, if not to supply, an *ellipsis*. Challoner has supposed it in his note; Wetham has supplied it in his text: "Forbidding to marry, *commanding* to abstain from meats." A Lapidè distinctly approves† of this: "Est ellipsis attica; supplenda est enim vox *κελευόντων*, id est *jubentium*;" and Justiniani adduces as an instance of similar phraseology, "Mulieres in ecclesiâ loqui non permitto, sed subditas esse (1 Cor. xiv. 31). [Hoc est, Nolo illas loqui, sed *præcipio* ut subsint.]" This preliminary explanation will enable the reader to gauge the biblical knowledge of our critic, and his competence to pass sentence upon others. "St. Paul annonce des hérétiques qui doivent condamner le mariage et l'abstinence. On lui fait annoncer des hommes qui commandent et prescriront l'abstinence, loin de l'interdire. Là où St. Paul dit *abstinence*, Sacy et Genoude lui font dire *usage*." Yes; and Justiniani had led the way in his paraphrase: ". . . ut matrimonia damnent, eorumque ciborum *usum* reprehendant."‡

7. "Æmulantur vos non bene: sed excludere vos volunt, ut illos æmulemini. Bonum autem æmulamini in bono semper, et non tantum cum præsens sum apud vos" (Gal. iv. 17, 18). We are concerned with the latter of these two verses, though the former supplies the clue to its interpretation. There is a slight discrepancy from the Greek; and it is a question among interpreters whether the leading word *bonum* is to be regarded as of the masculine or of the neuter gender: "Have a zeal for the good,"§ or "Be zealous for that which is good."|| St. Thomas is decidedly for the former, as the context seems to suggest: "Quasi dicat, Non debetis eos æmulari in doctrina eorum: sed æmulamini bonum *doctorem*, ME scilicet, et hujusmodi. . . . Sed quia aliquis potest esse bonus doctor,"¶ &c. Justiniani paraphrases the verse to the same effect: "Sed præclarum est recte institutam amicitiam perpetuo colere, neque amoris et benevolentiae terminos amicorum præsentia et consuetudine definire, quod mihi erga carissimos filios meos necessarium esse duco, quos non so-

* Disertè: communi consensu. A Lapidè in loc.

† And Estius insists upon it, and gives several scriptural passages in confirmation.

‡ Tom. ii. 477.

§ Wetham.

|| Challoner.

¶ Edit. 1591, fol. 145-6.

lum olim cum præsens apud vos essem, sed etiam nunc absens vehementer diligo.”* We have seen the interpretation of a canonised doctor of the Church, and of one of the ablest expositors of later times: if it needed confirmation from others, others are at hand. Now hearken to the critic before us: “Les traducteurs font dire à St. Paul ce que *n’a jamais été dans sa pensée*. C’est ainsi que les Jansenistes persuadaient aux femmes qu’ils dirigeaient,” &c. This dictum, and a sequel of scurrility which we abstain from quoting, à propos of such translations as these: “Je veux que vous soyez zélés pour les gens de bien en tout temps,† et attachez-vous au bon pour le bien en tout temps, et que ce ne soit pas seulement quand je suis parmi vous;”‡ and a paraphrase of De Carrières of the same import, the one and the other being borne out by the highest authority, as we have just seen.

8. Once more: St. Paul, in the course of his vindication of his character and preaching against his detractors at Corinth, uses these words: “If he that§ cometh preacheth another Christ whom we have not preached; or if you receive another Spirit whom you have not received, or another gospel which you have not received, *you might well bear* (with him),”|| καλῶς ἡνείχεσθε, recte pateremini (2 Cor. xi. 4). The Apostle may be supposed to intend a *reductio ad absurdum*,—a mode of arguing not unusual with him; and coherently with this, to make the *admission* that if rival teachers had any thing better to offer, the Corinthians would be warranted in accepting it: “Si ergo pseudoprophetæ meliora vobis prædicarent et vos docerent, recte faceretis et excusabiles essetis: sed hoc non faciunt.”¶ St. Chrysostom** represents St. Paul’s argument to the same effect: “If we have omitted to declare, and these teachers have in their teaching supplied, any things necessary to be said, we hinder not your attending to them: but if every thing,” &c. Several other expositors†† coincide in this view of the text:—differing on the minor question, whether the Apostle is contemplating a preacher who substitutes a false gospel, or one who mars the simplicity of the true by frivolous adornments. Be this as it may, it is surely dealing captiously with the translation, “Vous auriez raison de le souffrir,” to say, “Comprend-on que St. Paul *reconnaisse* que les fidèles feroient bien de souffrir quelqu’un qui leur prêcheroient un autre Christ et un autre Evangile?” (p. 50.)

* ii. 58.

† Sacy.

‡ Genoude.

§ i. e. whoever he may be,—any one soever. See Gal. v. 10.

|| Challoner’s edition.

¶ St. Thomas in loc. fol. 226.

** Hom. xxiii. p. 238, Field’s edition.

†† Justiniani, Estius.

And this is the tenth of the instances adduced by our critic of "corruptions or mistranslations against the Blessed Trinity or the Divinity of our Saviour."

Before we proceed to notice one or two others which he has classed under this head, let us take a glance at the first instance alleged under the fifth head of his accusation. The Jansenists, he tells us, have warranted the suspicions entertained against the sincerity of their belief in the Real Presence by the falsifications they have committed in several passages of Holy Writ, playing into the adversary's hands. We refrain from comment on this observation, and proceed forthwith to examine the first of these (alleged) falsifications.

9. "The poor you have always with you; but me you *have not* always" ("viz. in a visible manner, as when conversant here upon earth," as Challoner aptly observes on the passage), St. Matt. xxvi. 11: "Me autem non semper *habetis*, οὐ πάντοτε ἔχετε." Unquestionably there is a more rigid accuracy in translating by the present tense than by the future, "Vous ne m'aurez pas." Nevertheless we must frankly own that we do not see what is gained by this: what would be sacrificed, what be imperilled, by translating ἔχετε *habebitis*,* as ὁ ἐρχόμενος is translated by "qui venturus est."† For, be it known to the excellent critic before us, who observes that "Calvin et ses sectateurs ont tiré des conséquences de ce futur," that "this future" may be seen in some copies of the Roman Missal,‡ in the gospel for Palm Sunday: that it stands out incontestably in St. Thomas's Catena Aurea,§ with remarks thereunto appertaining, and an anticipation of Calvin's objection by an elucidation identical with that which we have quoted from Challoner. We may add, that in the Catena, Remigius especially adverts to the fact that the future, *not* the present, is in the text: "Sed ideo non dixit habetis, sed habebitis, quia," &c. Let us further apprise him that Sacy has accompanied the passage with a commentary that suffices to relieve him from the odious imputation above mentioned: "Mais pour moi, je ne demeurerai plus guère au milieu de vous *en cette manière sensible que vous voyez.*"||

We cannot but regard as hypercritical the censure of De Carrières' translation of "qui assumptus est vobis in cœlum" by "qui en se séparant de vous s'est élevé dans le ciel" (Acts i. 2). Our own English version, literally exact as it is, "Who is

* Compare Matt. v. 46, τίνα μισθὸν ἔχετε, "quam mercedem *habebitis*;" vi. 1, μισθὸν οὐκ ἔχετε, "mercedem non *habebitis*."

† Matt. xi. 3; Heb. x. 37, &c.

‡ e. g. the Venice edition of 1562, and others of later date.

§ Ed. 1552, fol. 113, 114.

|| p. 278.

taken up from you into heaven," or the Greek itself, ὁ ἀναληφθεὶς ἀπ' ὑμῶν, would furnish Calvin, Beza, *et hoc genus omne*, with the same pretences. We agree with the author in thinking, that in the translation of the words of institution the pronoun should have been omitted; but it was perhaps a matter of necessity when translating into *French* to say, "Il le rompit, et le donna." The English seems more accommodating: "He gave thanks, and brake and gave to them."

The reader is now in possession of all the grounds and evidences upon which the translators Sacy and De Carrières are accused of adulterating or obscuring the scriptural vouchers for the Real Presence: he will by this time, we think, have begun to form his own opinion upon the moral worth of their traducer. We now revert, as we proposed, to the first head of accusation—the perverting or weakening of the Scripture proofs of the Divinity of Christ.

10. "In principio erat Verbum, et Verbum erat *apud* Deum." From our childhood we have believed and professed, "The Word was *with* God." But because the Arians took occasion from this expression to mock and to quibble; because the ignorant may abuse it; because elsewhere Christ declares Himself to be *in* the Father and the Father to be *in* Him,—therefore our critic will with Amelote read "*en* Dieu:" those who read *avec* are the faithful followers of Calvin, whom the critic surmises to have chosen the word *avec* for the purpose of perplexing the notion of the sacred mystery.

The author has not given us any reference to ascertain when and where and by whom "the Arians were told that '*in* Deo' and '*apud* Deum' signify the same thing." This is certain, that St. Chrysostom,* and before him St. Basil,† insisted on the difference, and laid an emphasis on the word *πρὸς*, *apud*. The whole question is so ably summed up by Rondet, in his edition of the Bible de Vence,‡ that we cannot do better than transfer his note to our pages.

"*Apud Deum.* Les interpretes varient sur le sens de cette expression; les uns traduisent '*en* Dieu,' et les autres '*avec* Dieu.' . . . L'expression '*en* Dieu' peut marquer mieux l'unité d'essence; mais l'expression '*avec* Dieu' marque mieux la distinction des personnes. St. Basile et St. Jean Chrysostome ont expressement observé que St. Jean ne dit pas ἐν τῷ Θεῷ, mais πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, pour marquer la distinction des personnes. Théophylacte embrasse le même sen-

* οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν ἐν Θεῷ ἦν· ἀλλὰ, πρὸς τὸν Θεόν ἦν, τὴν καθ' ὑπόστασιν αὐτοῦ αἰδιότητα ἐμφαίνων ἡμῖν. Ed. Montf. viii. 20.

† οὐκ εἶπεν ἐν τῷ Θεῷ ἦν ὁ λόγος· ἀλλὰ, πρὸς τὸν Θεόν ἵνα τὸ ἰδιάζον τῆς ὑποστάσεως παραστήσῃ. οὐκ εἶπεν, ἐν τῷ Θεῷ, ἵνα μὴ πρόφασιν δῶ τῇ συγχύσει τῆς ὑποστάσεως. Ed. Ben. ii. 137.

‡ Edition of Toulouse, 1779.

timent, et observe que l'expression $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma\ \tau\acute{o}\nu\ \Theta\epsilon\acute{o}\nu$, 'apud Deum,' doit ici se prendre au sens de $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \Theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$, ou $\sigma\upsilon\nu\ \tau\tilde{\omega}\ \Theta\epsilon\tilde{\omega}$, c'est-à-dire 'cum Deo,' avec Dieu. St. Thomas et St. Bonaventure expliquent ce texte en ce sens, supposant toujours que l'expression *in Deo* marqueroit simplement l'unité d'essence renfermée dans l'expression 'Et Deus erat Verbum.' "

See into what irreverence towards the Fathers this writer's complacent ignorance or precipitancy has betrayed him!

II. We must crave the indulgence of our wearied readers, and submit, in closing these remarks, one more specimen of our critic's fairness, learning, and accuracy. In the eighth chapter of St. John's gospel, our Lord, in answer to the question, "Who art thou?" declares, $\tau\eta\nu\ \alpha\rho\chi\eta\nu\ \acute{o},\ \tau\iota\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \lambda\alpha\lambda\acute{\omega}\ \acute{\upsilon}\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$.* The version in the Latin Vulgate, "Principium qui et loquor vobis," although verbally very close upon the Greek, is not so easily reconciled with it as may appear at first sight. Various expedients have been adopted;† whilst, even in our own day, Catholic commentators‡ have overruled the meaning or wording of the Latin by the Greek phrase, which is easy of interpretation, being of frequent occurrence in the Old Testament and the classics.§ The Latin text, taken solitarily, involves the sense which De Sacy presents, and which our critic approves: "Je suis le principe de toutes choses, moi-même qui vous parle." St. Augustine, confining his attention to the Latin text before him, would naturally interpret and evolve the passage in this way. But what of the Greek text; and how would the Greek fathers, St. Chrysostom for example, interpret and apply the passage? It is an interesting question, which our critic has undertaken to solve in this fashion:

"St. Chrysostome, hom. lii., St. Augustin, lib. v. *de Trin.* c. xv., et les autres pères, prennent le mot *Principium* au nominatif. . . . Le grec original devoit avoir le nominatif; car il n'est pas croyable que St. Jérôme eut mis dans la Vulgate ce mot *Principium* au nominatif, s'il eût lu l'accusatif dans le grec original, comme il le faudroit afin de pouvoir traduire 'dès le commencement.' Ce sont vraisemblément les schismatiques orientaux qui ont corrompu le grec pour appuyer leur hérésie sur la procession du St. Esprit." (p. 49.)

* The authorities fluctuate between $\acute{o},\ \tau\iota$ and $\acute{o}\tau\iota$, and in the Latin between *qui* and *quia*.

† Maldonatus admits the ellipsis $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$, and interprets the words to mean "juxta principium, a principio, ab æterno."

‡ Dr. Klee, in his German version, translates, "Verily that which I told you;" and appeals to several passages of the LXX. for proof that the word must be taken adverbially.

§ See Schleusner and Wetstein.

Of St. Augustine we have spoken already:* "*les autres pères*" is an expression of convenient vagueness customary with our critic, although so exacting of others in the way of precision, and we cannot stop to discuss it; but we will briefly examine a definite statement respecting St. Chrysostom to which he has pledged himself. This was an unlucky slip; for St. Chrysostom quotes the Greek text as it stands at present: τὴν ἀρχὴν, the accusative, not the nominative. After reciting the text, he subjoins this interpretation, and no other and no more, "What HE saith amounts to this: Ye are utterly unworthy of hearing any of my words, much less of being told who I am."† So much for our author's accuracy respecting the Greek Father: we know not how to deal with the assertions that remain. We must leave to grammarians the notable discovery regarding *Principium* in the nominative; and to the historians of the Greek text the precious conjecture on the Eastern schismatics' contrivance. We are sorry that there is not the slightest trace of evidence given, not the faintest indication of a various reading as regards the word ἀρχήν.‡

We make one observation in conclusion. The influence exercised by a periodical such as the *Analecta Juris*, a work of its high repute and pretensions, printed in the metropolis of Christendom, and fortified by a double *imprimatur*, must be far from inconsiderable in forming the opinions and moulding the judgments of theological students in our colleges. Many of this class have, in all probability, unsuspectingly adopted as certain facts and established conclusions whatever this dissertator has palmed upon them. It is hardly possible to overrate the mischief likely to ensue to the hereafter expounders of Holy Writ and defenders of Church dogmas by the transmission of grievous mistakes from hand to hand and mouth to mouth. Injustice and bitterness become perpetuated; an angry tone mingles its harsh jangle with the words of heavenly wisdom. The cause of religion is made to rest upon a support which fails at the first blow; and its advocate, in his

* We transcribe the following words from that Father's commentary on the passage, as an additional evidence of our critic's recklessness of assertion: "Respondit, Principium; id est, Principium me credite. In Græco namque eloquio discernitur: quod non potest in Latino. . . . Ut scirent quid illum credere deberent, respondit, Principium: non tanquam diceret, Principium sum; sed tanquam diceret, Principium me credite. Quod in sermone Græco . . . evidenter apparet," &c. 38 Tract. in Joan.

† ὃ δὲ λέγει τοιοῦτόν ἐστι· ὅλως ἀκούειν τῶν λόγων τῶν παρ' ἐμοῦ ἀναξιολέστε, μήτιγε καὶ μαθεῖν ὅστις ἐγὼ εἰμι. Edit. Monfauc. viii. 311.

‡ Tischendorf (p. 272) has produced some *Latin* variations: as, *imprimis quia, initium quod*. *Principium* is found in some old writers in the adverbial sense.

simple wonderment at his discomfiture, becomes the pity or the scorn of the adversary.

WATERTON'S ESSAYS.

Essays on Natural History. Third Series. By Charles Waterton, Esq.

THE squire of Walton Hall is a sterling bit of metal; he rings as true as gold. That he is chargeable with a shade of eccentricity, we admit—and like him all the better for it. We detest flabby-minded people. Every body who is worth his salt is eccentric more or less; eccentric, that is, in a fashion which does not outrage real proprieties, but which cuffs aside conventionalities on fitting occasions, both in earnest and in sport. Mr. Waterton does not spare them, as this little book *de omnibus rebus* testifies: but a man must be a thin-skinned specimen of a long-eared race (to use a metaphor in the author's own vein) who rises from its perusal with any other feeling than that he has been having a pleasant cheerful talk with a very lively, sound-hearted, sound-headed, and single-minded old gentleman. Alas that we should be obliged to fasten so ugly a word as “old” upon our worthy friend; yet if he will startle us at the outset with the effigy of “Charles Waterton in his forty-second year, Philadelphia, 1824,” we have no escape. Seventy-four years, nevertheless, if they have whitened the locks, have neither unstrung the nerves nor relaxed the muscles of this open-air naturalist, who tells us that by observing the good old saying, “Early to bed and early to rise,” he is “robust and energetic at the age of seventy-five.” Seventy-five, or thereabout, he might have said; but we conclude that he likes to give what shopkeepers call the “turn of the scale” to the public. In any case, we trust that, should it please God so to prolong our own days, we may be able to produce as clear evidence of the *mens sana in corpore sano*; and, like our author, at three-quarters of a hundred commit a vigorous child of our brain to the indulgence of readers yet unborn and the wet or dry nursing of a future race of critics. Mr. Waterton, it is true, modestly apostrophises his literary baby as a “puny and an ailing brat;” but, for all that, it kicks and crows like a young Samson, and we more than suspect that the sly squire knows it. It is time,

however, to drop metaphor and to let him speak for himself. The volume contains an amusing continuation of his autobiography, to which is appended a series of essays on various subjects, mostly relating to natural history. And first Mr. Waterton details his dream of peaceful retirement from a busy world:

“Under this impression, I thought how happy I should be in this sequestered valley, where nature smiled and all was gay around me. Here the pretty warblers from the south, when spring had called them back, would charm me with their sylvan music; and when the chilling blasts of autumn warned them to return to their own sunny regions in Africa, their loss would be replaced by congregated ducks and geese, and even by cormorants, to change the scenery and still bring joy.”

We, in grimy London, know too well how often feathered songsters are replaced by congregated geese, and even cormorants, without any joy whatever accruing thereby; so we must not wonder that a pleasant journey, with pleasant companions, tempted the veteran naturalist once more to leave even his northern hall for the smiling south, nor quarrel with the roving disposition which sought new adventures, to be recorded in due time for our instruction and amusement.

The travellers made for the Tyrol, being very desirous to see with their own eyes the Ecstatica of Caldaro, Maria Mörl; and on the festival of All Saints they were admitted to her presence. Mr. Waterton's account of the interview is very interesting, and even affecting in its quiet simplicity. His description of the circumstances attending this prodigy in no substantial way differs from other published statements, and is strictly in accordance with that given us by personal friends who have made the same pilgrimage and enjoyed a like privilege.

At Venice, his keen glance detected “a sleek and well-fed Hanoverian rat, basking in a sunny nook” of the Hôtel de l'Europe. “It looked at us with the most perfect indifference, as much as to say, ‘I have capital pickings here both for myself and my relatives.’ How well this plodding animal contrives to fatten both in a cold climate and in a warm one!” It is quite “refreshing” to find so hearty a hatred of the vermin in question alive and flourishing out of a novel or a history (which is much the same thing) in the year 1857; but Mr. Waterton's Jacobite feelings received a good rubbing-up in March last, as we shall presently see when we come to the end of his autobiography. In the mean time we return to the notes on natural history, and other matters, made in the course of his Italian ramble. Cats and dogs are scarce at Venice;

and the author's English stomach insinuates a reason for the paucity of the first-named:

"I am very averse to Italian cooking in general. We had a dish one day which by its appearance, and the sliminess of its sauce, I took to be a compound of cat and snail. When I shrugged up my shoulders at it, and refused to take it on my plate as the waiter presented it to me, I could perceive by the expression of his face that the scoundrel pitied my want of taste."

At Monsilice "there was nothing in the way of natural history" but "a goodly matron sitting on a stool, and with her thumb-nails impaling poachers in the head of a fine young woman, probably her own daughter." At Bologna, the splendid appearance of the hotels had serious drawbacks: "O ye nasty people of Bologna," exclaims the indignant author, "of what avail are your gorgeous palaces, your cookery and fruits, whilst your temples to the goddess Cloacina are worse than common pigsties!" At Rimini, carts cut a droll appearance, having three beasts abreast; a mule in the middle, flanked by a horse and an ass. The weather for November was remarkably fine; "fleas were vigorously skipping about, but we neither saw nor felt a bug." At Case Brusciate, an unlucky smash might have brought the journey to an unforeseen and speedy end; but the danger was averted, and Ancona reached in safety. At Loretto, the Church of our Lady and the Santa Casa were of course visited:

"That Supreme Being, who can raise us all at the last day, could surely order the Santa Casa, which was inhabited by the Blessed Virgin when she lived at Nazareth, to be transported from Judea to the place where it now stands, if such were His will and pleasure. There are authentic proofs of its miraculous transition; but the belief of it is optional with every Catholic, as the Church has pronounced nothing on the subject. Millions upon millions of pilgrims have already visited it; and millions, in times to come, will no doubt follow their example. I believe in the miracle."

The journey from Loretto to Rome, and thence by Calais home, afforded but scanty gleanings in ornithology; and according to our author, the traveller in continental districts will be sadly disappointed if in passing from town to town he expects even "a very moderate show of birds." Birds, however, do frequent these regions in vast abundance, as is proved by the ample supply to be found in the markets. "I have known," says Mr. Waterton, "seventeen thousand quails to be brought to the Eternal City in the course of one morning."

Having arrived safely at his Yorkshire mansion, our author drops natural history altogether for a time; and by way of

entr'acte, treats us to a discourse on the Gorham case, before narrating an adventure or two which are to close his labours for ever "as far as an autobiography is concerned." This little piece is what all interludes should be—short, sharp, and provocative of mirth. No doubt it has made the old rafters at Lambeth ring again with innocent laughter. The squire is the pink of politeness, and does not omit to crave leave before introducing so important a subject:

"I would kindly ask permission to say a word on the Gorham case,—an ecclesiastical affair which has set all England by the ears, except us Catholics, who are not in the least astonished at what has taken place; knowing, as we know by awful precedents, that those who repudiate unity of faith have seldom any fixed faith to steer by. In fact, surrounded on every side by the dense mist of religious innovation, they can no longer discern their long-lost northern star.

I own that I am not prone to revere the Church by law established; her persecutions and her penal laws together having doomed my family long ago to pick up its scanty food in the barren pastures allotted to Pharaoh's lean kine, she keeping possession of all the clover meadows. Thus kind-hearted and benevolent Protestants will make due allowance if I give her a thrust from time to time in these memoirs.

Seeing the Bishops of Exeter and Canterbury hard at work in doing mischief, both to their own new faith and to our old one, I bethought me to borrow good (?) Queen Elizabeth, in order to remind these two potent ecclesiastics that they had better look at home rather than spend their precious time in condemning or in supporting a delinquent pastor of their own new fold.

So, being in a poetical humour, one morning at early dawn I composed the following lines for insertion in our much-valued *Tablet* newspaper. It goes to the sweet and solemn tune of 'Cease, rude Boreas,' and also of 'When the rosy morn appearing.' The measure, in my opinion, is by far the most melodious in the English language.

APPARITION OF OLD QUEEN ELIZABETH'S GHOST TO THE PRELATES
OF CANTERBURY AND EXETER.

Church and State, in conflict raging,
Filled the realm with dire alarms;
Exeter his chief engaging,
Canterbury fierce in arms.

As their mother law-church staggers
Underneath each cruel wound,
Suddenly their murderous daggers
Drop innocuous to the ground.

For behold, in brimstone burning,
From below a phantom rose;
And its eyeball fiercely turning,
Thus addressed the mitred foes:

' Whilst you bishops here are boasting
Of the Reformation tricks,
My poor soul is damned and roasting
On the other side of Styx.

See me punished for the measures
Which I followed here on earth,
When I stole the sacred treasures
And to Church by law gave birth.

O, that in earth's farthest corner
I had hid my wanton head,
Ere I first became the scorner,
Then the scourge of our old creed.

Villains bent on holy plunder
Strove to drive from Albion's shore
What had been her pride and wonder
For nine hundred years and more.

Vain have proved their machinations,
Vain each tyrant act of mine ;
Vain all impious protestations
Raised against that faith divine.

Still in Albion's sea-girt regions,
Just as when I first began,
This firm faith defies hell's legions,
And dispenses truth to man.

Ours, alas, for ever changing,
From the period of its dawn,
Through what lands, no matter, ranging,
Nothing leaves but error's spawn.

Warned by my sad condemnation,
Hasten to Saint Peter's rock ;
There alone you'll find salvation
For yourselves and for the flock.'

This was all. The royal spectre
Sank again to endless night,
Leaving each law-church director
Dumb with horror at the sight."

Surely the virgin queen was never before made to dance so "high and disposedly" for the amusement of the public in general, and for the instruction of the "prelates of Canterbury and Exeter" in special ; but we fear the "kind-hearted and benevolent Protestants," so affectingly appealed to before our author seizes the lyre, will hardly listen to his strains with the complacent satisfaction so accomplished an artist deserves. Though the majority of "professing Christians" in this country are no more prone to revere the Church of England, as a Church, than Mr. Waterton, yet their reverence for respectability is unbounded ; and the homage which is sternly denied to "John Bird by Divine Providence," and

"Henry by Divine permission," is willingly rendered to his grace of Canterbury and my lord bishop, who live in palaces and sit in the House of Peers. The Establishment is too serious a subject for a jest. Silas Figs, the "extensive" grocer, is a deacon and a leading member of Bethesda-Chapel congregation; but his children will assuredly hand themselves over to the care of the Rev. McAssar Podgers, M.A., Oxon, Incumbent of St. Pin-cum-Periwinkle, whenever their lamented parent's wealth shall give them a lift in the social scale. We are told not to despise the poor, because we do not know what we may come down to. Wesleyans, Congregationalists, Primitive, Secondary, Tertiary and New-Connection Methodists, with their various congeners, are taught not to despise the Establishment, because they do not know what they may go *up* to. So our bard must be content to receive his laurel crown at the hands of his co-religionists, or such of them as are uninfluenced by the respectable atmosphere which they are forced to breathe. At all events, our humble efforts will not have been wanting to secure the recognition of poetic genius, and "Old Queen Elizabeth's Ghost" and the present Number of the *Rambler* must be "laid" together.

Having let off his Parnassian steam, our author descends, first into the water, and then on to earth; but in each case in so reckless a manner as nearly to put an end to all future aspirations. Choosing Bruges as his place for assisting at the last jubilee, he left Yorkshire for London and thence for Dover by the night train. In his haste to get on board the Belgian steamer, he fairly walked into the Channel instead of the boat; but receiving most providential assistance, escaped all evil consequences but a cold and fever, which yielded to his own imperious treatment, and were not permitted to interfere with his fixed intention of accompanying the procession of the Most Holy Blood through the streets of Bruges for "full four hours." His adventure with mother earth was less propitious. Some seven years ago, having mounted twenty feet or so of ladder to prune a pear-tree, and having in his eagerness to set to work overlooked the Newtonian theory of gravitation, down came ladder and its burden in headlong ruin:

"In our fall, I had just time to move my head in a direction that it did not come in contact with the ground. Still, as it afterwards turned out, there was a partial concussion of the brain. And add to this, my whole side, from foot to shoulder, felt as though it had been pounded in a mill. In the course of the afternoon I took blood from my arm to the extent of thirty ounces, and followed the affair up the next day with a strong aperient."

This treatment in the Sangrado style would have been successful, had not a second tumble produced further concussion of the brain, from which Mr. Waterton only escaped with life by the "masterly practice" of Doctor Hobson of Leeds. But a stiff and withered arm remained, and incessant pain at last seemed to have decided the question of amputation in the affirmative. But this dreadful alternative was avoided in the end; and our author's narration is so illustrative of his genuine "pluck," and does such willing justice to a class of skilled empirics now nearly extinct, that we shall give it at length:

"This operation (amputation) was fully resolved upon, when luckily the advice of my trusty gamekeeper (John Ogden) rendered it unnecessary. One morning, 'Master,' said he to me, 'I'm sure you are going to the grave. You'll die to a certainty. Let me go for our old bone-setter. He cured me, long ago; and perhaps he can cure you.' It was on the 25th of March then, alias Lady-day, which every Catholic in the universe knows is a solemn festival in honour of the Blessed Virgin, that I had an interview with Mr. Joseph Crowther, the well-known bone-setter, whose family has exercised the art, from father to son, time out of mind.

On viewing my poor remnant of an arm, 'Your wrist,' said he, 'is sorely injured, a callous having formed betwixt the hand and the arm. The elbow is out of joint, and the shoulder somewhat driven forwards. This last affair will prevent your raising your arm to your head.' Melancholy look out! 'But can you cure me, doctor?' said I. 'Yes,' replied he firmly; 'only let me have my own way.'

'Then take the arm; and with it take elbow, wrist, and shoulder. I here deliver them up to you. Do what you please with them. Pain is no consideration in this case. I dare say I shall have enough of it.' 'You will,' said he emphatically.

This resolute bone-setter, whom I always compared to Chiron the Centaur for his science and his strength, began his operations like a man of business. In fourteen days, by means of potent embrocations, stretching, pulling, twisting, and jerking, he forced the shoulder and the wrist to obey him, and to perform their former healthy movements. The elbow was a complicated affair. It required greater exertions, and greater attention. In fact, it was a job for Hercules himself. Having done the needful to it (*secundum artem*) for one-and-twenty days, he seemed satisfied with the progress which he had made; and he said quite coolly, 'I'll finish you off this afternoon.'

At four o'clock, post meridian, his bandages, his plasters, and his wadding having been placed on the table in regular order, he doffed his coat, tucked up his shirt above the elbows, and said that a glass of ale would do him good. 'Then I'll have a glass of soda-water with you,' said I; 'and we'll drink each other's health, and success to the undertaking.'

The remaining act was one of unmitigated severity ; but it was absolutely necessary. My sister Eliza, seeing what was to take place, felt her spirits sinking, and retired to her room. Her maid, Lucy Barnes, bold as a little lioness, said she would see it out ; whilst Mr. Harrison, a fine young gentleman, who was on a visit to me (and, alas, is since dead in California), was ready in case of need. The bone-setter performed his part with resolution scarcely to be contemplated, but which was really required under existing circumstances.

Laying hold of the crippled arm just above the elbow with one hand, and below it with the other, he smashed to atoms, by main force, the callous which had formed in the dislocated joint, the elbow itself crackling as though the interior parts of it had consisted of tobacco-pipe shanks. Having pre-determined in my mind not to open my mouth, or to make any stir during the operation, I remained passive and silent whilst this fierce elbow-contest was raging. All being now effected as far as force and skill were concerned, the remainder became a mere work of time. So putting a five-pound note, by way of extra fee, into this sturdy operator's hand, the binding up of the now rectified elbow-joint was effected by him with a nicety and a knowledge truly astonishing. Health soon resumed her ancient right ; sleep went hand in hand with a quiet mind ; life was once more worth enjoying ; and here I am just now, sound as an acorn."

"Well done, Mr. Joseph Crowther," say we ; "and well endured, O most iron-nerved of philosophers !" The truth is, that the old-fashioned bone-setter, who exercised his calling when the science of surgery was comparatively in its infancy, was forced by circumstances to attempt the cure of cases which would appal a more technically instructed practitioner. The absence of knowledge to be gained by the scalpel alone rendered imperative, and therefore cultivated, a precision of eye which at last embraced at a glance a complete system of external anatomy ; and indifference to the consequential risks which deter a regularly educated surgeon frequently enabled the sturdy bone-setter to effect a complete recovery of use and motion where modern caution can only advise attempts at palliation. All the conditions in Mr. Waterton's case were favourable : he was in the hands of a skilful operator, and the operator had a bold and sound patient.

We have now seen our author well out of the water and off the ground, though as to the last not on such good terms as Antæus. We have now to recur to Hanoverian rats, having arrived at the point we mentioned when recording a little remark, uttered in the Hôtel de l'Europe at Venice, rather in the spirit of a royalist dragoon than of a peaceful naturalist. Some sixty years ago, Mr. Waterton's father put into his hand

a little iron cannon-ball, with a request that he would never let it go out of the family keeping. "It was used," said he, "against Oliver Cromwell, when he attacked our house." On the top of the old three-storied gateway was an iron swivel-gun; and on the place being invested by Old Noll, this gun, tradition affirmed, was so accurately brought to bear on a footpath in a wood, that a Roundhead soldier, returning from the village and carrying a keg of ale, was bowled over with a broken leg. The spot where the ball entered the ground was handed down from father to son; and not in vain. "Long before you were born," added my father, "curiosity caused me to dig for the ball at the place which had been pointed out; and there I found it, nine inches deep under the sod. So far my father." Now for the son:

"On the 12th March 1857, being at sludging-work, close to the old gateway, and in front of it, we found an iron swivel-cannon eight feet deep in the mud, and resting on the remains of the ancient bridge. The little iron ball mentioned above seems to have been cast to fit this gun. I have no doubt in my own mind but that this is the gun and this the ball which were used at the period of the defence."

Several other things have since turned up: musket-bullets, a sword-blade, spear, daggers, keys, coins, a silver spur, and two silver plates; all deep in the mud, no doubt flung into the lake with the family plate when Walton Hall was ransacked after the battle of Culloden. We can imagine Mr. Waterton's excitement as the cannon made its first appearance; the eagerness with which the iron-ball would be applied to its rusty mouth, and his exclamation of delight as it was pronounced to be an obvious fit.

"How varied is the turn of fortune! Success in battle, or the want of it, makes a man a patriot or a rebel. My family, solely on account of its conservative principles and of its unshaken loyalty in the cause of royal hereditary rights, was, by the failure at Culloden's bloody field, declared to be rebellious; and its members had to suffer confiscation, persecution, and imprisonment. It had to see, in a foregoing century, a Dutchman declared the sovereign lord of all Great Britain, and subsequently Hanoverian princes and Hanoverian rats called over from the Continent in order to fatten on our fertile plains of England."

With these reflections the autobiographical portion of the volume before us comes to an end, and the *Essays*, which form the bulk of it, commence. We had occasion to observe a short time ago that open-air writers are never dull; and Mr. Waterton certainly gives us no reason to change that opinion. His object is to prove that, notwithstanding all that

has been written and said to the contrary, the monkey family (which in his arrangement includes apes, baboons, monkeys with ordinary tails, and monkeys with prehensile tails) inhabit trees alone when left in freedom; the apes which frequent the rocks at Gibraltar being mere prisoners—though when so imprisoned there is no evidence to show—and dwellers on the ground solely because there are no forests to climb into in their uncongenial place of banishment. The pages of the *Rambler* are not a fitting arena for the discussion of problems in natural history of no interest to the general reader, and we must therefore refer the curious in such matters to the book itself. Wherever Mr. W. states a fact as the result of his own personal observation, his scrupulous accuracy entitles him to the most entire faith; and if he undervalues a little the labours of the closet systematist, it must be allowed that it is not altogether without provocation. Wise men will laugh, and not be angry. As a set-off against a charge of libel, we are permitted to plead a justification; and “*Cercopithecus*, *Gallitria*, *Sciureus*, *Oristile*, *Arachnoides*, *Subpentadactylus*, *Hypoxanthus*, *Platyrrhinus*, and *Pygerythræus*,” are descriptive terms which go far to mitigate damages, when a man who has studied most of their owners in their native solitudes is at the bar on his trial for quizzing.

In the second essay, pigeon-cots and pigeon-stealers are treated of; and the stupid unsportsman-like pigeon-shooting matches which call the latter into existence are held up to well-merited scorn.

In the third essay, on “the Humming Bird,” our author points out a great error in the setters-up of the skins of these lovely little feathered meteors:

“At the knees, in many species (indeed in all, in a greater or less degree) is found a profusion of delicately-white feathery down. When this is made to appear in preserved specimens, a solecism is committed in the art of what our learned doctors now call ‘taxidermy.’ No part of the feathery down ought to appear, whether the bird be on the wing or resting upon the twig of a tree. In nature it is entirely concealed by the adjacent and surrounding feathers.”

Our readers will no doubt call to mind how very prominent and remarkable the white down alluded to appeared in a large proportion of the specimens exhibited in Mr. Gould’s magnificent collection at the Zoological Gardens, some years back.

We shall not accompany Mr. Waterton on his trip to Aix-la-Chapelle and its thermal springs; but turn over to his “Notes on the Dog-Tribe,” which he introduces with a dictum from Ovid,—*Canibusque sagacior anser*,—the truth of which

may, at all events, be doubted as regards the respective animals in these days:

"We, wiser in our generation," says the essayist, "have been taught otherwise; for when a man cannot exactly comprehend our meaning, we lose temper, and call him a goose. But when a man shows brain in ferreting out a dubious case, we declare that he has the sagacity of a hound. It appears, then, in our times, that as far as sagacity is concerned, the dog is superior to the goose."

In proceeding to enlarge on the capabilities of the dog,—his obedience, his courage and fidelity,—our author insists strongly on the impassable gulf which exists between the highest instinct and reason; and instances the fact, that if your favourite dog, who abounds in all the loftiest canine qualities, hurts himself, and you bind up the wound, no shadow of reason will enable poor Ponto or Fido to submit to any system of cure; but the moment the bandage presses, or the wound itches, he will bite and tear till he gets quit of the plaster altogether. And this is the case, "from the mouse to the mastodon," with all irrational animals. For our own part, we never treated a mouse for a sore tail, or a mastodon for the nettle-rash; yet we certainly remember to have *read* of a dog who not only attended his surgeon for a daily dressing, but on one occasion brought a damaged acquaintance to solicit similar medical assistance. One thing is most certain, however, that

"The dog, although particularly gifted by nature with a disposition which enables him to receive impressions to a certain amount, even, in some instances, bordering as it were on reason, will exhibit nothing in his wild state to exalt him above the surrounding animals,—no, not above the ass itself. He must submit to the rule and dominion of rational man, in order to excel the surrounding brutes. To man alone he is indebted for an education."

This is well and forcibly put. Sufficient importance is not usually given to the fact, that the qualities of docility, constancy, affection, and obedience, which, in conjunction or separately, are to be observed more or less in all animals coming under the general term "domesticated," afford no intimation whatever of their existence as long as such animals are in their state of natural freedom. Indeed, it is most difficult, perhaps impossible, to prove that the instinct of one class is higher in any sense than that of another. Of the much greater susceptibility of educational impressions which is possessed by one class over another there can be no doubt, nor that the dog-tribe stands first on the list.

By way of illustrating the difference between canine trac-

tability and asinine intractability, Mr. Waterton gives us a droll account of his controversy with a mule: we say "asinine," because it is always taken for granted that Mulo inherits his proverbial obstinacy rather from the ass his father than from the mare his mother,—a compliment to the fair sex which of course we dare not gainsay. But to return to Mr. Waterton and his adventures with Philip:

"When I was on the west coast of Demerara, I rode a mule in preference to a horse; and I took a kind of pride in my choice, because no other person seemed inclined to engage him. He was a cream-coloured, and a beautiful animal, and had been imported from Orinoco to work in the cattle-mills of the sugar-plantations. I gave him the name of Philip. At times he went quietly enough; but every now and then he would show who had been his father, and you would fancy that the devil of stubbornness had got entire possession of him. He was never able to dislodge me from the saddle except once; and then, being off my guard, he pitched me 'neck and crop,' as the saying is, over his head. A large brown wasp of the country had issued from its nest under a wooden bridge, over which we were going, and stung him in the face. Hence the true cause of the fracas."

Decidedly Philip was not altogether to blame in this matter; though it is little to the credit of his general intelligence that his only notion of getting rid of a wasp was to send his rider flying into the air, and down on his head. On a second occasion we have no excuse whatever to offer for him:

"Another time Philip seemed particularly prone to mischief. I prepared for a storm, and the mule made a dead stop. It brought to my mind the affair which Sterne had with his own mule in the *Sentimental Journey*. 'Philip,' said I, 'I can't afford to stop just now, as I have an appointment; so pray thee, my lad, go on.' 'I won't,' said he. 'Now do, my dear fellow,' said I, patting him on the shoulders as I spoke the words; 'we must not remain here, a laughing-stock to every passing nigger.' Philip declared that he would not move a peg. 'Then, master obstinacy,' said I, 'take that for your pains;' and I instantly assailed his ears with a stick, which I carried in lieu of a whip. 'It won't do,' said Philip, 'I'm determined not to go on;' and then he laid him down, I keeping my seat in the saddle, only moving in it sufficiently to maintain an upright position; so that whilst he lay on the ground I appeared like a man astride of a barrel.

Nothing would induce the mule to rise. Niggers in passing by laughed at us, some offering assistance.

Here a bright thought came into my head. The swamps of Demerara being below the level of the sea at high water, each plantation has a sluice to effect a drainage when the tide goes out. An old nigger lives in a little hut close by the roadside, and he has

the sluice under his charge. He was standing at the door, grinning at us, with his mouth wide open from ear to ear. 'Daddy,' said I, 'bring me a fire-stick.' 'Yes, massa,' said he; and then he drew one hotly blazing from his fire. 'Put it, red-hot as it is, under Philip's tail.' He did so; and this was more than Philip's iron nerves could stand. Up he started, the hair of his tail smoking and cracking like a mutton-chop on a gridiron. I kept my seat; and away went Philip, scouring along the road with surprising swiftness. From that day forward, although he had a disagreeable knack of depressing his long ears and elevating his rump, he never attempted to lie down with me on the public road."

In cases where what Mr. Waterton calls his *anodyne* treatment fails, as it did with Philip, his *à posteriori* form of argument might, we think, be applied with very great advantage. It is not altogether new. When John Bull refuses to carry his ministerial burden through the mire it is pretty sure to lead him into, some grinning daddy of a Chancellor of the Exchequer is ever ready to clap the fire-stick of a new tax under his tail; so that he plunges furiously forward in a desperate attempt to get rid of his burden, and sometimes, though by no means as a rule, reaches sound footing on the other side of the quagmire. There are other instances in which the remedy might be exhibited with considerable benefit to the patient. When, for example, a pattern Anglican quietly settles himself down in a bog of blunders, and takes a will-o'-the-wisp for the sun, a touch of the actual cautery, judiciously administered, might make him spring at a bound over the line that divides truth from error. We are convinced that the history of Philip will not be lost on the world.

But we must hasten on, for our space is rapidly contracting. The reader will find Mr. Waterton's chapter on the fox by no means one of the least interesting of the series. His acquaintance with Reynard began early in life; for, to say nothing of the noted fox-earths at his paternal hall, the good Jesuit Fathers at Stonyhurst, in consideration of his inborn love of natural history, wisely constituted him rat and fox catcher to the college. "Armed with this authority, I was always on the alert when scholastic duties allowed me a little relaxation; and I became the scourge of noted thieves, such as fougarts, stoats, weasels, and Hanoverian rats." In his early vulpicide career (let it be clearly explained that no hounds were kept in the neighbourhood) he witnessed a strong instance of the imperfect instinct of the animal whose cunning is a constant theme of ancient and modern fable. Eight half-grown turkeys were missing one morning; and the four-footed thief, having as it seemed entombed three in

his own stomach, buried the remaining five for his wife and children (as our author suggests) in an open garden. If he had actually covered them, his sagacity would have remained unimpeachable :

"But he actually left one wing of each bird exposed to view; and it was this exposure which led to their discovery. I could not possibly mistake as to who had been the sexton; for when I disinterred them, each bird emitted that odour which a fox alone produces. . . . An ass, in this case, would have shown just as much talent and cunning as Reynard himself had exhibited."

Though our author has killed foxes, yet he is no fox-killer; and that we may not give a shadow of excuse for any such impression, let us quote his own words :

"Long may Great Britain boast of her useful pastime (which is unique of its kind), free from knaves, free from pickpockets, free from the necessity of a police attendance, free from blacklegs,—in a word, free from every thing that may cause a man to say he repents of having joined in the chase, or to confess that he has not found himself better in health and spirits after the day's sport was over than before it began! It is my wish, as I have already declared,—my wish, my ardent wish,—to cherish and protect the breed of foxes; not that I deny, however, a man, once or twice in his life, may be reduced to the repugnant necessity of committing vulpicide, or fox-murder."

And here let us take leave of this fine specimen of a north-country squire, as he utters a sentence worthy of himself. Mr. Waterton belongs to a class of which there are too few. Full of courage, yet tender and gentle; shrewd and observant, yet in simplicity a child; firm as a rock in his faith, and straight as an arrow in his dealings,—such is the owner of Walton Hall. As an open-air observer, he has made many and valuable contributions to natural history; and, with a style peculiarly his own, he has recorded his wanderings in a manner to secure the reader's interest. In his epilogue to the present volume, he says, "Some writers march steadily along; others stumble in the road; whilst others fall down flat on their faces, never to rise again." Now we cannot affirm truly of him that he does any one of the three. He neither stumbles nor falls; but his progress is of that discursive kind which we adopt when enjoying a ramble in the fields and woods with a congenial friend, not the steady pace which belongs to the graver walks of literature. In conclusion, we wish our author health and strength to launch more essays, ay, and to seek out fresh materials. To the public we say, Buy the present volume, and read it.

Short Notices.

THEOLOGY, PHILOSOPHY, &c.

Sermons preached on Various Occasions. By John Henry Newman, DD., of the Oratory. (London, Burns and Lambert.) This volume cannot be supposed to have so much unity of idea as the two preceding ones; but it has that unity which the detached writings of a man of philosophical mind must always have. We consider F. Newman to be *the* classical religious writer of the day. His sermons are, in their way, as complete and perfect as an ode or an epos of the great poets. Their language and style are irreproachable, like Addison's; not, however, like his, dull and monotonous, but always impressed with the charm of novelty and unflagging interest. He is the well-instructed scribe, who brings forth from his treasures new things and old: old things in the garb of new; old things adapted to new wants; the past in terms of the present; stale truths, over which too many have gaped, in a form as attractive as the most brilliant writers can give to error. We must mention, by the way, that we cannot *quite* subscribe to the historical views of the extinction of the Catholic Church in England that are assumed in the beautiful sermon on "the Second Spring." Nor can we agree that there is no instance of a people that had once fallen away returning to the Church; some of the most Catholic States in Europe are those where Protestantism once reigned supreme, if not exclusively, for several generations. We may mention Styria, La Vendée, and Bohemia.

The Raccolta, or Collection of Indulged Prayers. By Ambrose St. John, of the Oratory. (London, Burns and Lambert.) This is truly, as the translator calls it, "a book of prayers which has the highest sanction of the Church; and the use of which is not only authorised, but privileged in the highest degree, so as to entitle it to be called emphatically 'the Church Prayer-book of Private Devotion,' as the Missal and Breviary are her books of public devotion." The translation is excellent; and at the beginning of the book is an approbation of the Pope, granting to the faithful who use it the same Indulgences as are annexed to the original Roman editions.

FOREIGN LITERATURE.

Le Correspondant. (Paris, Douniol.) This review, with the tone and principles of which we must own to feeling the liveliest sympathy, proceeds without flagging on its brilliant career. Each Number contains two or three valuable memoirs. We may mention the Vicomte de Melun's admirable *résumé* of the controversy about the "Law of Charity" in Belgium, which led to the deplorable riots of May; and some memoirs on the government of the Papal States, by M. de Corcelle, written in a true Catholic spirit, and with all the political freedom which characterises the *Correspondant*, and with the cleanness and clearness which are so natural to the French in writings of this kind. The tales which are printed in the pages of this journal are generally of a superior class; one of them, "Madame de Bonneval," by Lady Georgiana Fullerton, has gained quite a European reputation: we cannot venture to predict the same success for the tale finished in the last Number, "Cecile." Altogether the *Correspondant* is a journal which Catholics must regard with pride, as being conducted with talent, honour, liberality, and freedom, and in an excellent Catholic spirit.

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